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IMPACT OF AFGHAN REFUGEES ON BALUCHISTAN DESCRIBED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 6 Apr 82 p 2 F

[Article by Claude Lorieux: "Baluchistan: the Sirens of Kabul"]

[Text] Gen Rahimuddin Khan's gallery of ancestors is imposing enough to make the worst snobs green with envy. Whether civilian or military men, clean-shaven or bearded, with pale or red complexions, one must admit that these proconsuls whom London posted in the marches of the Indian Empire had great style. They also had the confidence-building belief of being entitled to their position and of being the strongest. When he walks up and down the hall of his residence, where life-size portraits of these ancestors are hanging, the governor of Baluchistan must envy them at times. This military man who is not from Punjab (an advantage), who is outward looking (he travels), influential (he is related to President Zia) and dynamic (he is always on the road) represents in that ravaged province one of the poorest nations of the world.

His political convictions are all the more ... orthodox:

--The whole myth of the Great Baluchistan (uniting the Baluchis of the three countries--Editor's note) is nothing but a figment of the imagination. The people of this province are as patriotic as the rest and, for them, the integrity of the country is an article of faith.

--The solution does not lie in new additional clauses to the constitution (to strengthen its federal character--Editor's note) but in creating an atmosphere of trust.

--The problem of Baluchistan is economic.

There is much truth in this last statement. If I request Islamabad to make a loan to build for a road, Rahimuddin explains, they ask me: how many cars per hour? I answer: four per day. And it is hard to convince them. The same happens when I request admission for my students in the Veterinary Institute of Punjab and I am unable to submit candidates with an average standard. Hence the result. To sell Baluchistan to a budget director, who must set his priorities, is not an easy task.

Guerrilla Warfare for a Gas Pipeline

Several factors account for this disadvantage. The nature of the country, of its society and of its inhabitants. That is true. But there is also the scant attention paid to this bleak region by successive Pakistani governments. Here is a typical example: Baluchistan produces gas, a lot of gas. The Punjabis, the Sindhis and even the Pathans have long benefited from it. But the inhabitants of Quetta did not. It was only after 4 years of guerrilla war that Islamabad was persuaded to build the gas pipeline which, in a few months' time, will bring gas to the main town of the region. However burlesque, this oversight is not as fraught with consequences as the delay in bringing electricity, supplying water and eliminating illiteracy (no less than 95 percent of the population is illiterate).

And is it not also true that the famous sirdars completely curtailed progress to maintain a socioeconomic structure which protected their feudal unlimited power? Yahia Bakhtiar, who was Bhutto's minister and his supporter before falling prey to the cruelty of Zia's jailers, is categorically positive on that score. Other prominent figures claim that this is not true...at least with regard to the great nationalist sirdars (Marri and Mengal). Is it not a fact that they supported the program of the National Awami Party advocating the eradication of tribalism and the promotion of economic development? This is, obviously, a hotly debated question because it reveals the nature of the independence movement: "reactionary and chauvinistic" or "nationalist and progressive?"

Be that as it may, the Russians' arrival in Kandahar has led several foreign governments to come to the assistance of the Pakistani authorities to bring Baluchistan out of the Middle Ages and, therefore, reduce or so they hope, the danger of destabilization. For instance, Great Britain is helping to bring electricity into two districts, Kuwait is getting ready to finance 70 irrigation projects and the United Arab Emirates are interested in building roads. Other countries (Japan, FRG, France) are studying projects.

Gold and Guns

The governor has another iron in his fire. He takes good care of the sirdars, of the "bootlickers," naturally, but also of the others, the nationalists. In this respect, his feelings are somewhat ambiguous. If a guerrilla leader requires farming equipment to "reconvert," he gives it to him. If Khair Baksh Marri or his old accomplice Ataullah Mengal want to go abroad for personal reasons or to get medical treatment, he gives them the required authorization...and, he claims, anything else which they may require for themselves and their families. He does it because these sirdars are not rich, particularly if they want (or must) live in the West and undergo surgery there.

Undoubtedly, Rahimuddin is a shrewd man. But can one settle a blood debt and destroy a dream of national glory with rupees, dollars and good manners?

Sher Muhammad Marri has the carriage of an old fighter, a superb headdress embroidered in vivid colors, memories of ambushes and fights, speaks in the style of Moscow Radio and is as poor as a dormouse. His answer is straightforward: the government has two weapons against those who are weak: guns and gold. When the first does not work, it resorts to the second.

Amullah Gichki, former PPP [Pakistan People's Party] (Bhutto's party) deputy for Khuzdar, is a different kind of person. He laments the fact that in the absence of elections, a man's political importance is assessed on the basis of how many guerilla fighters he can recruit rather than on how many votes he receives at the polls. But his conclusion is also negative: "I do not believe in economic development without power-sharing between Islamabad and the provinces; a political vacuum cannot be filled by bringing electricity to rural areas."

"Give me 5 years and you will see how I change Baluchistan," the governor almost begs in his eagerness to protect the unity of a country which has been traumatized by two partitions (the partition of India and the separation of Bangladesh). Will he have the 5 years that he wants?

Resistance has not disappeared...even if the children of the sirdars have discovered the pleasure of whiling away their time in the salons of Karachi. The old men of the nationalist struggle feel identified with the Marxist students of the BOS (Beluchistan Student Organization) whose militants are either in prison or underground. We are told that one of their most successful acts was to prevent on three occasion the inauguration of the new Faculty of Sciences at Quetta University by President Zia. Each time, the police were unable to stop them from painting hostile slogans on the walls.

Also, and in contrast to what happened with the Pathans in Peshawar Province, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan did not destroy the illusions of the Baluchis. The ones we met did not share "our" impression of the Afghan refugees, these unfortunate people who were driven away from their country by the Moscow army rabble. They see them mainly as competitors with whom they will have to share water, firewood (an obsession with Sher Muhammad Marri) and grazing land for sheep, three commodities which are in short supply in this godforsaken country. "And then," they are heard to say, "look at them. They are feudal people, rich merchants and, who knows, double agents perhaps. Some are genuine refugees, of course. But they came because the mojahedin, not the Russians, drove them away."

An Afghan official who makes it a point of honour to cultivate the Baluchis protests loudly: "When we explain to them that we are living under the thumb of a foreign army, they retort: 'You have had that situation for 3 years, we have lived with it for 30 years.'"

Bizenjo, the Old Man of the Mountain

Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo's personality and prestige continue to dominate the political relations between Islamabad and its disloyal Baluchi subjects. Whether he is governor, a political prisoner or, as now, a man barred from entering

three of the four provinces, this Old Man of the Mountain can ease the tension or increase it to breaking point. "I am," he says, "the last living link between the Baluchis and Pakistan. I have forced my people to talk, to try to adjust...but when I am gone!"

Bizenjo received me under the fly-ridden awning of his son's house in Khuzdar. He is a grand old man dressed in white with studied elegance. A feeling of calm and even majesty emanates from the "Baba i Baluchistan" (the father of the Baluchis) and regular visitors come to see him while he is "in town" at the moment. "Zia does not seem to realize how serious the situation is. The ethnic minorities will not allow him to deprive them of democracy forever. Anything can happen," Bizenjo warns. "There could even be a confrontation between provinces. When people are disappointed they seek help."

Night has fallen over the courtyard cluttered with building materials. Bizenjo takes a lit cigarette offered to him by one of his faithful followers.

I keep the discussion going. "And who will help you, sir? His reply is unequivocal: "Neither the United States nor the West will change their attitude towards us. Aid can only come from the north, from Afghanistan or from the Soviet Union."

His neighbor and political opponent, the PPP deputy Gichki, feels the same way; "Soviet rule could lead to the unity of the three Baluchistans and bring a certain recognition of our national rights; I would be delighted to see this happen."

A Nod From Moscow

The recent arrival in Kabul of Khair Baksh Marri, chief of the main Baluchi tribe, is in this context a very important development. "It is a very bad thing," says a prominent local figure who firmly favors a pro-Western solution to the tragedy of his nation. And he reminds us that between 5,000 and 10,000 Marris have remained in Afghanistan. Should one conclude that war will resume this year, or even this summer as the British press has been predicting lately? Eight men and two women, all members of the Bugti tribe, were recently killed in a clash with the army, the first clash since Bhutto was ousted.

But there is no reason for the guerrilla fighters to bring their weapons out of their hiding places in a hurry. Today, the army has a stronger hold on the country than in 1973, particularly in the tribal areas. It is clear that the population, who suffered so much during the 4 years of the war, still wants to be left in peace. "Also, why should they fight now," Yahia Bakhtiar asks, "when time works in their favor and when other people, the Russians, are fighting their battles?"

The USSR is, obviously, in no hurry in the opinion of the governor and of many prominent figures. Afghanistan is causing enough trouble to the USSR, which lately has adopted an attitude of reserve towards the Baluchis.

"But Moscow needs only make a gesture and they will come running," says a top expert on the country. And one understands why this man, and others like him, tried and are still trying to warn Islamabad and the capitals of friendly countries: "Be careful, something serious is brewing in Baluchistan."

LABOR PARTY DEPUTY CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF OPPOSITION

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2814, 17 May 82 pp 17-21

[Interview with Dr Hilmi Murad, deputy chairman of the Labor Party, by Mufid Fawzi: "No Use in Tomorrow's Conference If Speakers are Yesterday's Men; Open-Door Policy Does Not Mean Wide-Open Doors Without Security Controls or Guarantees"]

[Text] Why do we think and change our thoughts?

We don't do so because we are good, because "man is a thinking animal," as some philosophers say, or because thinking is one of society's or the thinker's needs.

Ideas do not create themselves or choose themselves. In all cases, ideas are no more than a way of bemoaning or of protesting against the self or against nature. If the state motivating us to bemoan or protest did not exist, the state making us think and change our thoughts would not exist.

Commenting on my audible contemplations, Dr Hilmi Murad said: "A society is afflicted with a state of stagnation, deterioration and the inability to change or think if dialogue dies in this society. Dialogue alone is what stirs the waters of this lake. Perhaps the first characteristic of a successful dialogue is to project a subject of discussion without going too far or soaring too high.

[Question] In Europe, some people have learned to take their hats off in respect for intellectuals.

[Answer] (Said with a smile:) I wish that we here in the East would only learn the rules, etiquette and traditions of dialogue, without taking our hats off for thinkers.

[Question] (To the Labor Party deputy chairman:) At one time, people thought that Ibrahim Shukri emerged from the folds of al-Sadat's cloak to represent the opposition and I have not heard your views.

[Answer] Let me admit to you that President al-Sadat patronized the Labor Party in a special way when the party first began. This hurt the party. I

am responsible for every word I say and we are in the process of evaluation at present. I am responsible for every word I say and the recorder is recording our dialogue. But let me tell you on the pages of ROSE AL-YUSUF and for history that President al-Sadat tried at one time to contain the opposition. This is unacceptable logically, politically and constitutionally. It is unreasonable for a man to be a member of two parties simultaneously. This is clowning. I was watching and rejecting what was going on. I rejected the "political demonstrations" intended to portray the leadership, represented in the person of the president, as a leadership encouraging the foundation of this party. This encouragement took an "authoritarian" and illegal form that harmed the opposition. To be precise, this encouragement harmed the "essence" of opposition the way opposition should be--an opposition emanating from the people, protecting the people's interests and standing in the face of any violations.

[Question] (I sneaked in a whispered question:) Was Eng Ibrahim Shukri aware of the efforts "to contain the opposition?"

[Answer] Let me tell you again that at the outset, the process was intended to embarrass the opposition, as when a prominent official does you a big favor that you truly and psychologically reject. A long time passed before the Labor Party was able to get rid of this embarrassment and prove that it was a real opposition party that had actually emerged from the folds of al-Sadat's cloak to represent the opposition, as you say. Perhaps one of the goals of my modest articles in the paper [AL-SHA'B] was to rid the party of this authoritarian embrace encircling its neck.

Dr Hilmi Murad and Criticism

[Question] (When the telephone rang at Dr Hilmi Murad's office and he was told the news of resumed publication of the opposition papers--AL-SHA'B and AL-AHALI--he said one word: Great. I had to ask the question:) What, in your view, are the dimensions of the proper role for the opposition press?

[Answer] (Dr Hilmi Murad answered quickly:) It is axiomatic that the primary role would be to observe government actions, express viewpoints and offer solutions to problems, not just present the problems.

[Question] We frequently repeat certain words, such as slander, defamation, evaluation and the limits of criticism, but we never consider their meaning profoundly. Let me go further and ask: What are the ethical pitfalls in the opposition press?

[Answer] (Dr Hilmi Murad sat straight and began to speak with the tone of a university professor:)

General law has established the lines separating criticism from slander. Any person may criticize a public official, even if the criticism is considered damaging or detrimental to the official criticized, if it is based on actual facts. Therefore, the writer or journalist is allowed to prove the facts that may contain defamation that might not be proven against an ordinary

citizen. A public official performs a public service and to insure the good progress of work and absence of deviation in the public service, criticism, blame and censure have been allowed.

[Question] Can criticism turn into defamation?

[Answer] Defamation means deviation from the objectivity and message of criticism and from the basic framework of the meaning of criticism as we have agreed on. Deviation leads to the motives for criticism. The motive, as reflected by the facts included in the criticism, may be sound but the intention may be wrong and may not seek the public interest but rather personal revenge.

[Question] I remember that Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal told me that when he was writing his "Frankly Speaking" articles in AL-AHRAM, President al-Sadat said to him: "You are creating confusion among the people." I want to examine the word "confusion."

[Answer] It is the issue of opinion and counter opinion. If the expression of an opinion opposing that of the government is considered "confusion," then this attitude has nothing to do with democracy. I sometimes call opinion a "consultation" or perhaps advice or criticism, which might be considered "confusion." The word "confusion" is an attempt to portray democracy and consultation in a negative way. In this case, the "counter opinion" must disappear to "prevent confusion." This is catastrophic.

[Question] Has the opposition ever deviated from the sound framework of criticism?

[Answer] The opposition focuses on the major issues and disregards subsidiary issues. The opposition stands in the face of violations, regardless of the harm involved. The opposition is an enlightened viewpoint that defends the people's interests against the fangs of predators.

Problems start small and then multiply and turn into an immense danger. It is the opposition's duty to draw attention to these problems, first by hint, then by gesture, then by message, then by explanation and finally by attack, but not by defamation. I remember that the opposition had an opinion on letting political parties get involved in commercial businesses. I remember that we criticized this strongly and that our criticism was considered an "obstruction" to economic progress and the open-door policy. Then what we had warned against did happen. What was the result? Persons who are not above suspicion and who are not qualified or trustworthy hid behind the ruling party's screen and made enormous profits at the people's expense. Do you consider this a deviation from the sound framework of opposition?

Dr Hilmi Murad and Open-Door Policy

[Question] Why didn't the phenomenon of Rashad 'Uthman and Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy appear in 'Abd al-Nasir's era? Perhaps my question basically is: Why

have these examples of the open-door policy scandals emerged, if I may use the expression?

[Answer] For a very simple reason. There was a serious bringing to account whenever signs of deviation appeared. Don't forget a more important reason. The state controlled the sources of livelihood and gain and there was no fertile ground for looting and plundering. This doesn't mean that we want people who have private projects banned from operating. I believe that honorable profit-seeking capitalists from whose activities the state benefits are eager to wipe out corruption and deviation. One of the reasons why some foreign investors, such as the Japanese, have refrained from engaging in large-scale [investment] activity is the fact that they fell into the clutches of the corruption of middlemen and of the open-door policy Mafia. This is proven and recorded.

Every capitalist builds his calculations on economic bases and not on graft and commissions. A capitalist does not take into account changes in favor of one group and against another because he will end up the loser. This means that things are not proceeding according to sound economic rules and the observed market rules. This causes the capital owner to lose confidence.

[Question] As a professor of economics, how do you view the open-door policy?

[Answer] If there is an economic problem in Egypt, then let us look for the solution both in the East and in the West, without closing the door to certain countries. The open-door policy does not mean that we should allow the entry of every import that any importer wants or the exit of every export that any exporter wants, even though this is the generally accepted meaning. The country's doors are wide open, without any controls or any criteria. This situation exists in no other country in the world. Even in the United States, the leader of the free capitalist economic world, there are restrictions. In 'Abd al-Nasir's era, there were controls and safety valves that protected us from the catastrophes of the wide-open doors. Those controls later disappeared. The open-door policy is meant to meet the country's legitimate and unprovocative needs and to deal with our local problems with the help of any side where the sound solutions of these problems exist, be it the East or the West.

[Question] What is the elite's duty?

[Answer] To think for society, to rise above frivolities, to formulate a philosophy emanating from society's values, traditions and long heritage and to sift the values according to changing factors.

[Question] I once read that the elite's duty is to always remind itself of its origins.

[Answer] The "elite" here means the rulers.

[Question] (I went on to add:) It seems that this is most likely because whenever 'Umar ibn al-Khattab felt proud of himself, he would go out to the

people and say: "O people, I have just reminded myself of the time when I used to herd the sheep of some of my aunts from Bani Makhzum in return for a few dates or a few handfuls of barley."

[Answer] The elite's reminding itself of its origins is always a safety valve against excesses.

[Question] Dictatorship surfaces among the elite when it forgets its modest origins. I recall, Dr Hilmi, that one of China's great historical commanders used to order the Chinese Army generals to go to the army kitchens to cook the food and serve the soldiers once a week, telling them: "I have felt among some of you arrogance toward the troops because of your organizational position, keeping in mind that the privilege you enjoy is dictated by the needs of organization, not by social discrimination. Return so that you do not forget your origins."

[Answer] Dr Hilmi Murad laughed at my tone--a tone [trying to imitate] that of a Chinese Army commander instructing his officers.

Dr Hilmi and Duality

[Question] (An interview must have pauses so that the interviewee may not feel besieged by questions. After we laughed, Dr Hilmi drank a glass of water and I felt that he was eager to continue the dialogue. So I surprised him with an issue and he was eager to answer my question, which was:) Do you think that the Constitutive Council, the Values Court and the socialist prosecutor--these institutions that were born recently--are destined to survive and continue?

[Answer] This duality, which was imposed during a certain period, was intended to steer the country away from the correct and natural constitutional structures and to create new structures connected with the regime existing at the time, thus leading to harmful overlapping [of jurisdiction] and to excessive public spending in a country that is in the direst need to streamline its spending and to make use of every piaster it has. We are not a rich country with surpluses that can waste its monies. These unnatural structures destroy the citizen's reassurance. Why? Because two kinds of treatment will emerge, and this is against the citizen's security and confidence. I find that the state's actions result in anxiety and suspicion among the people. The sound solution is to eliminate this duality and to restore sound conditions and to establish legal discipline in accordance with the general law, human rights and acknowledged principles. To put it briefly, the institutions to which you have referred in your question cannot continue.

Dr Hilmi Murad and President Mubarak

[Question] (Dr Hilmi Murad's courage of opinion tempts me to ask him explosive questions from which he doesn't shy away and which he doesn't fear. Schopenhauer, for example, used to speak to himself loudly while walking in the streets. Did the philosopher lack a listening ear? Perhaps.

Schopenhauer himself used to say: "A great man is not the conqueror but the man who prefers death to life.)

The conversation is now about President Mubarak. I will not ask you a specific question but I want to see the president through your eyes.

[Answer] I have a prior concept of President Mubarak's mentality and ideas from the time he was al-Sadat's vice president and I was a member of the People's Assembly. I met him at some short meetings and quick discussions. Perhaps my first personal meeting with the president was at al-'Urubah Palace after we had been released from detention. It was a good meeting and the president spoke spontaneously and sincerely, reflecting the desire to overcome all the criticism that had been made by the opposition. He asked, in the name of national detente, to be given the opportunity to establish general security in the country. This was the primary demand at the time.

[Question] There are in President Mubarak's personality "signals" and features that are repeated in his statements and that may be characteristic of his thinking. One of these signals, for example, is "a pure hand."

[Answer] Perhaps what President Mubarak means is that the goal of the decision of any office holder must be the goal of serving the public interest and not that of personal benefit or benefit for connections or relatives. Perhaps this is why the president reiterates the proverb "a shroud has no pockets." I believe that what he means is that contentment is a great value and that nobody will take his fortune with him in his shroud. By this, the president is referring to the greed and avarice that have become characteristic in recent years.

[Question] As a man of opinion, do you disagree with President Mubarak on any principle?

[Answer] (He said quickly:) Permit me to rephrase your question to make it read: What do you ask of President Mubarak?

I ask him first that normalcy be restored to the country now that public security has been established.

Second, I ask him to release all detainees, except those who will be submitted to trial and who must be submitted to the ordinary judiciary, and to abolish all the special laws. It has been proven in practice that these laws have not protected the state from complaints but rather have led to a phenomenon conflicting with the nature of the Egyptian people, namely, the phenomenon of violence. I ask him to review all the state agencies, be they press, security or economic agencies, insofar as their directors, their personnel and their policies are concerned so that these agencies will abide by the course of the new phase declared by President Mubarak in two speeches to the People's Assembly and to the Consultative Council in the wake of his assumption of power, because the agencies that led to the previous situation with their directors and their methods are still the same agencies existing at present. They are agencies that share the responsibility for what has

happened and their continued presence with the same personalities and the same methods will lead to the same results. This is why I ask President Mubarak to change the methods and the personalities. I also ask President Mubarak to reconsider the regime's democratic framework so that we can correct the flaws existing in it.

[Question] Do you have anything to add to the idea of the "conference for tomorrow's Egypt" advocated by President Mubarak in the wake of the economic conference?

[Answer] If the talk about tomorrow's Egypt is confined to yesterday's men, then we will not reach tomorrow's Egypt. What I mean is that in addition to the intellectuals and men of experience, there must be new perspectives and young personalities to enrich the thought with something different. If we imagine tomorrow's Egypt in the light of the past and the present, then we will achieve no result. I do not want to mention specific names but I want to say, with reservation, that if the speakers at this conference are the speakers of past conferences, then there is no hope that the conference will produce effective results. This meeting must open its doors to new ideas and to open and unfettered criticism of what exists. Without this, the conference will add nothing more to the articles, research or studies that are published. The image of tomorrow's Egypt must come from those with ever rejuvenated thought, with a futuristic view and with a new approach.

Dr Hilmi Murad and Censorship

[Question] Have you, like me and many others, paused at the restoration of the Administrative Control Agency?

[Answer] There has to be an administrative control agency. Abolition of the agency at a time when we suffered from deviation and corruption was arbitrary and surprising. We need to investigate deviations to verify citizens' complaints about how they are treated and to verify the truth of the rumors about laxity and about partiality to those who pay bribes. Therefore, it is natural that the agency should return. The tragedy of the agency was the destruction perpetrated against its reports and records.

This is an indication that abolition of the agency was not in the public interest. We hope that restoration of the agency, its structure and its powers will lead to a curtailment of deviations, without any partiality.

[Question] Talking of control, what in your opinion is the biggest mistake that a man in opposition makes?

[Answer] (He said decisively:) To hesitate in expressing his opinion on the fundamental issues in the manner he deems fit. The silence of an opposition member in such a case is something serious. It is a silence for which he is accountable because it is not so much the silence of sound judgment as it is the silence of a lack of conscience.

Permit me to repeat the last phrase in my interview with Dr Hilmi Murad, the opposition man who believes that the silence of an opposition member in the face of the major issues, if the ruling party overlooks such issues, "is not so much the silence of sound judgment as it is the silence of a lack of conscience."

Observation: Dr Hilmi Murad asked me to add to the interview a phrase in reply to the question: On what do you disagree with President Mubarak? The phrase is: He is studying the country's internal conditions in the wake of completion of the withdrawal from the Sinai. Therefore, we believe that he must be given the full opportunity to draw up long-range plans, set up active agencies and install honest persons, and then we will agree or disagree.

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VISITING PARLIAMENTARY GROUP FINDS PROBLEMS IN SINAI

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 May 82 p 6

[Article by Mahmud Mu'awwad: "First Parliamentary Committee Goes to Sinai To Answer Important Question: Why Are there Delays in Reconstruction Projects for Which Millions of Pounds Were Earmarked 2 Years Ago?"]

[Text] There is not a single opportunity for employment in one project for production. The time has come to reconsider the monopoly that public sector contracting companies have and provide an opportunity to the private sector so projects can be completed expeditiously.

Now that the national ceremonies celebrating Sinai's return to Egypt are over, the question continues to be a pressing one.

What will Egypt do in Sinai where, everyone is affirming, the cultural battle with Israel will be fought?

Will the policy of neglecting Sinai's resources continue, and will there be no inducements for a single work opportunity? Will Sinai continue to be--as it has been--an inaccessible area frequented only by Bedouin communities that are scattered throughout the peninsula?

When will the serious confrontation begin of the problem of slow reconstruction, and when will production projects be implemented? This problem was discovered in the course of a 2-year experiment in front of the first parliamentary committee that undertook to confront officials in the governorate of South Sinai.

The committee recognized the gravity of the propaganda and psychological effects that Israel left behind in the hearts of citizens who lived 15 years under the fires of occupation.

The committee decided to hear [the statements of] all responsible groups and citizens in preparing a report that was to be submitted to the People's Assembly which formed a special committee headed by the vice president of the assembly to look into [the matter of] the reconstruction of Sinai.

The committee, which is chaired by 'Abd-al-Mu'ti 'Abd-al-Karim begins confronting the question of the depletion of Sinai's natural resources by engaging in dialogue

and discussion. The committee found out that the governorate of South Sinai, for example, has only a few administrative and executive civil servants who make up the work force in the service departments. The state provides them with all the material capabilities for exchanging services, [but] some of these capabilities go to Bedouins, and there is no production activity utilizing Sinai's natural resources. The committee confirms from its observations that implementation of investment projects in the areas that were turned over to Egypt 2 years ago is going slowly. The state had appropriated 9 million pounds as a basic allocation for the service departments, and the governorate is taking another [further] step. It is entrusting the Sinai Reconstruction Agency with the task of issuing direct orders charging investment projects to two public sector companies. These two public sector companies had monopolized work in Sinai. They are the Red Sea Contractors Company and the Arab Contractors Company.

Mr Shafiq Hashish, Mahmud Shi'ir and al-Sayyid Hamad, members of the parliamentary committee asked, "What has been accomplished?"

The committee found out that, for example, there were serious signs that required the immediate attention of officials. Total funds disbursed in advance by the governorate of South Sinai to the Reconstruction Agency for implementing investment projects until 30 June 1981 amounted to about 6 million pounds. However, not one single production project has been implemented. Only a few housing units and sites for central services [have been completed]. The delay in implementing projects that are assigned to the public sector by direct order is considerable. Besides, the financial accounting for these companies takes place after the projects are completed, based on prices fixed at implementation. The committee discovers that as long as payment is made in advance, monetary differences are lost as a result of the continuing increase in the prices of construction materials. In all cases the result is sluggish reconstruction and development.

The chairman of the committee suggests that it is necessary to give the public sector an opportunity to participate in the implementation of investment projects. In case of delays, a private sector company can be called to account. The system of assigning these projects directly to the public sector gives public sector companies an opportunity to delay implementation [without risking] being called to account.

In an encounter with Dr al-Sa'id Muhammad al-Sa'id director of health affairs at the governorate, the committee shifts to the subject of health services. Dr al-Sa'id acknowledges that vast distances, which in some areas are up to 500 kilometers, have a major effect on the fact that some examinations, treatments and first aid for Bedouins cannot be carried out.

Dr al-Sa'id asks that a wireless medical service be set up in South Sinai and that a helicopter be designated to cover the governorate. It would fly urgent cases who cannot be saved without an airplane. Dr al-Sa'id says, "We need an ambulance in every city, and we need to provide specialists [in the area] since there is not a single specialist."

The committee discovers that the sluggishness in reconstruction operations has affected the construction of buildings [that are to be built] for medical equipment and devices. It became evident also that there was a mobile hospital

packed in 262 crates and stored in warehouses. The crates contain hospital equipment which is lying around in cartons. This is the hospital that had arrived in Sinai to provide first aid to Sinai residents in cases of disaster and flash floods. There are also 200 air conditioning units that have been lying on the floor in warehouses since 1979. The reason for that is that there are no buildings where these units can be operated.

Engineer Kamil al-Sayyid Daraj, chairman of the local council in the governorate of South Sinai appeals for help and says that major projects have been considered, like the project to drill the wells of Sahl al-Qa'. He says there are 600 feddans that can be cultivated immediately. He wonders, "Where are the work camps that can contribute to such a project and to other food security projects, such as sheep farms and poultry farms?"

He confirms that there is a problem with distant areas and with the fact that means of transportation are not available. This foils all development plans in Sinai.

The youth director in the governorate of South Sinai affirms that he has 37 vacant financial positions in the youth sector and that these positions are going begging.

The committee meets with a number of young Egyptians who had come to Sharm al-Shaykh looking for work. University students among these young people related that they were suffering from the fact that they could not find places to stay while they were looking for employment. There are two hotels in Sharm al-Shaykh, and these have been leased by investment companies. The average room rates for 1 night is 70 pounds. The committee discovers that measures which had been taken recently reduced the number of tourists in that area and that that had had an effect, as a Bedouin who refused to be identified said, on the earnings of desert Bedouins.

Shafiq Hashish, the representative from Shirbin suggests, "Why haven't domestic trips been encouraged among students of universities and higher institutes of learning and farmers, provided that the agency for youth, tourism and reconstruction contribute to that effort?"

Water, which is not a problem in Sharm al-Shaykh, remains a pressing problem now in Ra's Sadar and in neighboring areas. After it is transported from Suez--60 kilometers away--water is distributed in tanks. What is curious is that there is a condenser, which was inaugurated last November 19, for desalinating water, but that condenser is not being operated because some of its spare parts are not suitable and have not yet been repaired. The Bedouins of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah, Nuwayba' and Sharm al-Shaykh are asking that fishing restrictions be relaxed since about 60 percent of them are employed in fishing, and the coast guard has been preventing them from fishing.

Residents are affirming that the situation with food supplies is very good and that they have no complaints, except for bread which is still a problem despite the fact that there are semi-automatic bakeries for Sharm al-Shaykh, Dahab and Nuwayba'. These bakeries have not yet been set up.

The problem of roads is being uncovered in front of the committee. Work has been underway on the al-Shatt-Ra's Muhammad Road; the process of building that road has

been prolonged, and this has led to increased costs. Traffic on that road has been discontinued, and no trails have been built to be used as alternatives so that traffic on the road can continue, even though the governorate did spend 70,000 pounds to repair the 80 kilometer connection between al-Tur and Catherine.

Mahmud Shi'ir, member of the committee states that it has become necessary for the Supreme Committee for the Reconstruction of Sinai, which is chaired by the prime minister, to reconsider pursuing implementation of the reconstruction plan in Sinai, especially in the south, which has its own policy. That policy has proven to be a failure in realizing the investment plan. Mr Shi'ir said that the time had come to commence serious implementation [of plans] to utilize Sinai's resources.

Al-Sayyid Hamad, a member of the committee, who criticized the youth care policy in these areas adds, "These areas should have been centers for training young Egyptians in the process of actual contribution to the development of their country." He wondered, "Where are the youth homes, and where are the youth villages that we hear about a lot?"

In the final analysis it is the official agencies that are to begin carrying out the observations of people and their representatives out of a commitment to a most serious confrontation: that of confronting the challenges in the area of the cultural struggle.

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VIEWS OF EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATOR ON TABA TALKS

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic No 351, 30 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Dr Wahid Ra'fat, Candidate for Position of Arbitrator in Egyptian-Israeli Talks on Taba by Muhammad Yusuf al-Masri: "Egypt's Representative in the Arbitration over Taba Explains to AL-SIYASI the Difference between the Reconciliation Israel Is Insisting upon and the Arbitration Egypt Is Insisting upon in the Taba Talks;" date and place not specified]

[Text] Reconciliation is a political solution.
Arbitration is a judicial solution.

AL-SIYASI has learned that Dr Wahid Ra'fat has been nominated arbitrator for Egypt in the Egyptian-Israeli talks over the problem of Taba.

The arbitration committee has three members: the first one represents Egypt; the second represents Israel; and the third is selected by the two primary arbitrators within a certain period of time. If that is not accomplished, the third member is selected by the president of the International Court of Justice, the secretary general of the United Nations or a country agreed upon by the parties to the dispute.

Dr Wahid Ra'fat had served previously for many years during the Egyptian-British negotiations as a consultant to the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In October 1906 a joint Turkish-Egyptian-British committee was formed to draw a map of Egypt's international borders. The committee completed its work in February of the following year, 1907. The committee drew the line of these international borders at Rafah and Taba.

Ninety-one pillars were actually set up between the two towns. A distance of 100 meters separated each pillar from the other.

These boundaries have not changed at all since then. They remained unchanged despite the British mandate over Egypt which began in 1922 and lasted till 1948. Egypt obtained its independence and became a sovereign state on 28 February 1922.

Despite their signatures on the truce maps of 1949--and Yigal Yadin's signature is one of those signatures--which indicate quite clearly that Taba is Egyptian territory, Israelis are claiming that Taba is Israeli territory. This is in keeping with Israeli policy which turns an accomplished fact into law.

Israel withdrew from all of Sinai, but negotiations are still underway regarding it. Article Seven of the peace treaty concluded between Egypt and Israel in March 1979 stipulates that every disagreement that develops between the two parties regarding the application of any stipulation in the treaty or interpretation thereof is to be resolved by reconciliation or arbitration if the two parties do not reach a solution by direct negotiations.

Reconciliation or Arbitration

Israelis are insisting on the word, reconciliation.

On the opposite side, Egyptians are insisting on the word, arbitration.

What is the difference between reconciliation and arbitration? Who is the arbitrator? Is he different from a judge? Is the arbitration committee different from the International Court of Justice? What are the effects of the judgments rendered by the arbitration committee? Who is on that committee?

AL-SIYASI took these questions to the chief Egyptian legal expert, Dr Wahid Ra'fat who is a candidate for [the position of] arbitrator for Egypt.

[Question] What stages has arbitration gone through in the history of international relations?

[Answer] Arbitration went through numerous stages in the history of international relations. In the not too distant past and until the 19th century a state would ask the head of another state, or more than one head of state, to serve as arbitrator in settling its disputes [with others].

After getting their independence in the last century, Latin American countries, for example, turned to the king of Spain or the Spanish throne quite often to settle the disputes [that developed] between them. In fact, some of them even sought Queen Victoria's help to settle border disputes between them. When Queen Victoria died early this century (in 1901) this assignment was relegated to her heir, King Edward VII.

The president of the Swiss Federation was chosen to arbitrate some international questions. The president of the United States was often chosen to settle disputes between countries on the American continent, especially border disputes.

Arbitration and The Hague Agreements

[Question] This was prior to the Hague agreements of 1899 and 1907 which had to do with the peaceful settlement of disputes. According to The Hague agreements what is the form of the arbitration committee?

[Answer] According to the forementioned agreements the arbitration committee now usually consists of three arbitrators. Each one of the two parties to the dispute chooses one arbitrator, and that arbitrator is in most cases a citizen of that country. The third arbitrator, who is called the decisive arbitrator because he is the one who would decide in favor of the position of one of the two parties, is usually chosen by the two parties to the dispute. If a selection is not made

within a certain period of time, a third party is asked to make that selection. That third party may be the president of the International Court of Justice, the Secretary General of the United Nations or any other country both parties agree upon.

Each arbitrator usually supports his country's point of view so that judgment lies in the hands of the third, neutral, arbitrator, who naturally does not reach a decision independently. The third arbitrator issues the committee's decision after deliberations are conducted between the three arbitrators; the decision is a majority decision.

Herein emerges the importance of the arbitrator selected by each of the two parties. An arbitrator actually serves as an advocate for his country on the arbitration committee for the purpose of winning over the decisive arbitrator to his side, after convincing him that the cause of the country he represents is a sound one.

Judgment and Appeal

[Question] If a judgment is reached, would any one of the parties accept an appeal of that judgment?

[Answer] The judgments of the arbitration committee are final and may not be appealed by any means. However, parties may go back to the same arbitration committee to request clarification of something in the arbitration decision that may be ambiguous or obscure.

A Judge and an Arbitrator

[Question] What then is the difference between a judge and an arbitrator?

[Answer] An arbitrator's job is to defend his country's point of view against the arbitrator who represents the other party until he persuades him that his point of view is a sound one.

A judge, however, seeks the counsel of his own conscience and is committed to absolute neutrality. [Also] he does not communicate with any one of the two adversaries.

Arbitration and Reconciliation

[Question] Now we come to the important question on the difference between arbitration, which Egypt is insisting upon in accordance with Article Seven of the 1957 Peace Agreement, and reconciliation which Israel is insisting upon in accordance with the same article of the agreement.

[Answer] Reconciliation is a political tool for settling international questions and disputes. Arbitration, however, is a judicial tool.

[Question] Is one aspect [of the difference between the two]. On the other hand, reconciliation, as one may deduce from the word itself, is an effort to find a middle-of-the-road solution that would reconcile the opinions of two disputing

parties. That effort does not have to abide 100 percent by the law as arbitration has to. Except for the method by which he is chosen, an arbitrator is like a judge because his judgment is rendered exclusively on the basis of the law, according to the conclusions he draws from the evidence and documents presented by both parties. There is a great difference between reconciliation, a method that tries to settle international disputes politically, and arbitration, which takes only what the law says into account. The law that is being referred to here is primarily international law and its rules which are in effect in the international community.

Therefore, some countries prefer reconciliation to arbitration because in reconciliation they may win some of their demands, but in arbitration they may lose everything.

The third difference between reconciliation and arbitration is that proposed solutions achieved through reconciliation are not at all binding on the parties. They are merely recommendations which the parties may accept or reject.

Arbitration, however, concludes with a decision that is binding on both parties. This means that both parties, the party that wins its case in front of the arbitration committee and the party that loses, are bound by the committee's decision. Both parties have to carry out the letter and the spirit of the committee's decision. However, there is no other penalty than loss of one's reputation in the international community if one party refuses to implement the decision of the arbitration committee.

A country that resorts to arbitration and then does not implement the arbitration committee's decision, which is not in its favor, proves to the world that it does not respect the law and that it is not trustworthy. After that the international community could not have confidence in its decisions and in its policy.

Therefore, there are no known precedents of countries that resorted to arbitration and then refused to carry out the arbitrators' decision.

These decisions differ from those rendered by the International Court of Justice, for example, because the UN Charter requires the Security Council to take any measures for implementing decisions issued by the aforementioned court. Thus, it has broad discretionary powers.

What is the solution?

Q. What then is the solution when each party in Cairo and in Tel Aviv has its own point of view?

A. [Answer] Actually one cannot say that Israel is insisting exclusively on reconciliation because thereby it would be closing the door to a peaceful settlement of the border dispute between it and Egypt, including the question of Tabá.

It is no secret that Egypt and Israel are members of the United Nations. The charter of this international organization requires all parties--that is, members of the organization--to settle their disputes peacefully. These peaceful means of settling disputes include diplomatic negotiations, mediation, reconciliation,

arbitration and a judicial solution rendered by the International Court of Justice.

If Israel chooses reconciliation and if that does not settle the dispute between it and Egypt, Israel will have no choice but to accept any one of the other means for settling disputed which are stipulated in the UN Charter. If Article Seven of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, which was signed in March 1979, stipulated that every dispute between the two parties regarding the implementation or interpretation of a text of this treaty that is not resolved by direct negotiations, is to be settled by reconciliation or arbitration, then the forementioned treaty could not have ruled out the possibility that a settlement to the dispute can be reached by the other means that have already been mentioned. Among these methods, which I have not mentioned previously, is the possibility of turning to the Security Council or to the UN General Assembly.

It is known that the UN Charter is tantamount to a constitution for the international community. Therefore, Article 103 of that charter stipulated that any international agreements concluded between countries that are members of the forementioned organization which are inconsistent with the stipulations of the UN Charter are not to be relied upon.

The essence of all this is that if Egypt and Israel chose reconciliation and arbitration in the peace treaty they signed in 1979 to settle disputes that may develop between them, that choice was not based on their preference for these two means, nor was it based on precluding other means when these become necessary.

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FACTORS OF PRESENT POLITICAL RIVALRY ANALYZED

Rome RASSEGNA SINDACALE in Italian 13 May 82 pp 31-32

[Article by Rahmat Khosrovi: "Preparing for After Khomeyni "]

[Text] The National Council of the Iranian resistance recently outlined in Paris a plan for the provisional government which should take over after the fall of the republic of the ayatollahs.

Paris, April--The Iranian revolution continues to travel through a long tunnel, while the country is about to collapse and social tensions are about to burst. Despite all this, the leading religious group is attempting to create a society to their own specifications, which they call "Tohidi." The violence and the violations resulting from this archaic vision of history are limitless and remembering fragmentary facts perhaps would serve no purpose because we would never be able to do complete justice to the cause of a truth so distant from any imagination.

While dissatisfaction is widespread among the masses, and both spontaneous and armed manifestations of dissent are witnessed, the progressive opposition scored some positive points in spite of difficulties and disagreements. In Paris, center of a multitude of anti-Khomeyni organizations, we listened to the opinions of mahy Iranian leaders from Bani-Sadr to Matin Daftari (Mossadegh's nephew and principal founder of the National Democratic Front), and Qassemli (secretary general of the Democratic Party of the Iranian Kurdistan), etc. Among the opposing organizations, the "National Council of the Iranian Resistance" [CNRI] is the group which enjoys in Iran and abroad the greatest prestige and consensus. The first plenary session of the CNRI recently took place in Paris. In addition to progressive personalities, the "National Democratic Front," the "Kurdistan's Democratic Party," the "Mojahedin-e Khalz," the "Unitary Council of the Parties of the Left" and other minor organizations were also in attendance.

The Council examined the question of an alternative to Khomeyni as well as the organization's internal relations. In the final document CNRI, as a political organization, plans to hold free elections for the appointment of a constitutional committee within 6 months of the ousting of Khomeyni. This committee will have to draft, with 2 years at most, Iran's new constitution

and hold the elections for the parliament of the Republic. The provisional government, under the supervision of the CNRI, will grant democratic freedoms on the basis of the principle of pluralism. These are the main objectives that the future transitional revolutionary government hopes to achieve: Immediate freedom for political prisoners, the end of the war with Iraq, autonomy for the Kurds, equal rights for women, immediate abolishment of all the organs and instruments of repression of the Khomeyni regime, such as Pasdaran Islamic tribunals (the strong arm of fundamentalism), etc. In the document all sentences issued until now under the Khomeyni regime are declared null and void and the reopening of Iranian universities closed for over 2 years and political, religious and structural freedoms are granted.

In the meantime there is daily and extensive friction and each disagreement becomes automatically antagonistic and violent. The people would like to live for the sake and sense of history but the mechanism of power is still anchored to primordial and feudal relations even more remote than those which preceded capitalism. We perceived a deep sense of anguish and solitude in our meetings in Paris with the men of the resistance, because all are aware that there is an unfillable gap between the reality of today and that which was hoped for after the revolution. All those we spoke to seemed aware of the enormous difficulty which the modification of this state of affairs and preparations for an alternative solution would entail. The present power does not have and cannot have plans for the improvement of society, but is instead engaged in "purifying the special body of impurities that have corroded the spirit in past centuries, from the ascent of Islam on." Led by this vision, the mullahs who are at the helm of the country have only the task to demolish and to eliminate, which they are carrying out extremely well. This ideology considers "every war a divine will and a gift from God to accelerate the purification of men."

War is beautiful and destruction is also necessary and even sublime, in war as when facing a firing squad evil spirits are chased away and men are freed of earthly harassments. The dominant philosophy is that of martyrdom, blood and pain, because "they are the guarantees for gaining access to heaven." One can foresee the kind of civilized characteristics of a political power, which rose from such slimy ideological vision, can portray and how it can present itself to the world at the end of the 20th century. That is why the men of the resistance have the feeling of hanging in a vacuum between past and present and that is the reason for the sense of anguish they feel in talking about Iran's tragic events.

One of the Iranian poets still living, Ne'mat Mirzazadeh (Azarm) used to tell me: "Who calls Khomeyni and his power reactionary makes an unforgivable mistake because one can call reactionary someone who is 10, 20, 50 years behind his time; but Khomeyni's power, which should not be defined a regime, is against all that 14 centuries of history represented, therefore it is simply a tribal power and he is a tribal chief." We asked Qassemli, the leader of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan which counts among its affiliates over 80 percent of the Kurdish population (Iranian Kurds are more than 6 million), what is the difference between the present and the past regime.

"There is a remarkable difference, he replied, under the shah the Kurdish people were being repressed because of Persian chauvinism imposed precisely by the shah. But now, besides this, the Kurdish people endure also Khomeyni's Shiite chauvinism because over 80 percent of the population of Kurdistan is Moslem-Sunni." Ghassemlu added that since the beginning of Khomeyni's aggression in Kurdistan, there have been more than 15,000 deaths in that region. "We are for freedom for all Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan, the accusations of separatism are vulgar lies. These accusations are trying to give the repression being imposed upon us an appearance of legitimacy. We fought all regimes that considered us second class citizens, all we want is to be considered equal to everybody else. We will continue to fight against this obscurantist regime with arms in hand, because it is the only chance we have left." The statements of other Iranian political leaders, among whom also former Iranian president Bani-Sadr, sounded very much the same. These are Bani-Sadr's comments: "Recent events show that now repression has spread to the religious camp."

According to Bani-Sadr nobody is safe from Khomeyni's fanatic aggression. He believes that the regime itself stays alive through the expediency of dups d'etat. Where will this revolution lead to and what will the size be of the explosion of anger that in just 3 years has been building up so much within the Iranian society? All progressive Iranian forces are called upon to answer in unison this question of the after-Khomeyni alternative. The dialogue within this tortuous path is difficult: The role of the Iranian workers' movement, which defeatist theses gave for defunct, has a weight which cannot be ignored even if today workers' smallest claim or the recourse to strike is being punished with death of factory activists by firing squads.

In fact we just head from Tehran that the parliament of fundamentalists has definitively passed the antistrike law. Therefore, now it is legal to murder even at the place of work someone who is simply suspected of activism or accused of having tried to organize a strike. This is how distant that enthusiastic revolution is which so much owes the workers who supported it and carried it forward, and this is how it wants to create the special "Tohidi" society, namely classless, Khomeyni version.

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IMPROVEMENTS ANNOUNCED FOR TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

New Harbors

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 May 82 p 14

[Interview with Mehdi Karbasian, deputy of Ministry of Roads and Transport]

[Text] Chahbahar will be converted into an international harbor

Kerman-Bandar 'Abbas railroad will be built during the current year

Bandar 'Abbas--Last year more than 6 million tons of cargo were transported from Bandar 'Abbas to various parts of the country.

Brother Mehdi Karbasian, deputy of the Ministry of Roads and Transport and head of the committee for transportation coordination, who traveled to Bandar 'Abbas as the head of a delegation, explained in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY the plans of the Ministry of Roads and Transport during the period 21 March 1982-20 March 1983 for the expansion of harbors, the activities of the transportation coordination committee, and the comfort facilities for truck drivers along the roads to Bandar 'Abbas.

He said: The transportation coordination committee is made up of the representatives of 23 organizations and ministries. These organizations are actively responsible for purchasing, servicing, and transporting goods in the country. It has been decided that the transportation coordination committee should meet each time in one of the ports to observe the problems and deficiencies in order to take action to eliminate them. This time, the committee met in Bandar 'Abbas.

Concerning the programs for the expansion of the harbors being implemented, he said:

The Ministry of Roads and Transport will invite tenders for five ports during the period 21 March 1982-20 March 1983. Hopefully, the development and building operations of the harbors will begin by the end of the current year. However, the main goal is the completion of the Chahbahar harbor. With the studies already made, hopefully, the operations will be completed even before the time necessary for the creation of an international harbor. Several ships will be able to anchor in this harbor simultaneously.

Presently, since Chahbahar Harbor does have sufficient facilities, there is always at least one ship being unloaded there.

Brother Karbasian then said concerning the repair and widening of the Bandar 'Abbas-Sirjan road, which was built in past years: At the present time, this road does not have the necessary traffic capacity. In a visit which brother Nezhad-Hoseynian, the minister of roads and transport, made to this road, it was determined that side roads should be built along some of the sections of this road to reduce danger and lighten traffic. With the plans which are being implemented, the deficiencies and shortcomings will most likely be eliminated.

Concerning the linking of Kerman railroad to Bandar 'Abbas, he said: Also, the construction of the Kerman-Bandar 'Abbas railroad, which has been divided into 12 parts, has been given priority and all our energy is being devoted to building this railroad. Presently, with the help of engineers, nine parts of this railroad are either nearing construction or their contracts are being signed. The other three parts will also be ready for construction operations within the second half of the current year.

Vehicle Parts Agreement

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 May 82 p 144

[Text] On the basis of this agreement, Iran National will be able to receive all the technical data and knowledge to build cars in Iran.

With the delivery of the parts mentioned in the agreement, Iran National's production will increase.

Yesterday, the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, in contact with one of the officials of the Iran National Company, was informed that after six months of discussions and studies, a two-year

agreement was signed between the representatives of this company and Talbot Motor Company of England.

On the basis of this agreement, Iran National will purchase the technical data and knowledge from Talbot to build cars in Iran in order to implement the projects for building gear boxes, differentials, and front end systems, and to increase the production of passenger cars and pickups.

Also, Iran National will strive during the above-mentioned period to achieve 100 percent self-sufficiency in building parts and necessary equipment on the basis of its annual production plan. Meanwhile, the parts which are ready to be delivered from England, which were not received by Iran National because of unclear cooperation procedures with Talbot, will soon be delivered to Iran and, consequently, Iran National's production will increase.

Also, regarding the point that in previous contracts, the procurement of certain parts was projected, but, despite the signature of the British company, the implementation of the agreements was suspended as a result of the imposed U.S. economic embargo which was upheld by the British authorities, it was agreed that these parts be delivered to Iran National. According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, with the delivery of these parts, it is anticipated that Iran National's production will increase.

New Bus Terminals for Tehran

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 May 82 p 6

[Interview with Engr Ahmad Ziayi-Borujeni, business manager of the United Bus Company]

[Text] Passengers in Tehran are being transported by 2,200 buses along 157 routes.

The reasons for the shortage of United buses in Tehran was announced.

Engineer Ahmad Ziayi-Borujeni, the business manager of the United Bus Company [U.B.C.] and a member of the supreme council of traffic of Tehran, explained the problems, difficulties, and future plans of the U.B.C. in a press conference on Tuesday morning.

The business manager of the U.B.C. began his statements with salutations to his holiness Mehdi and his rightful deputy Imam

Khomeyni, the martyr-nurturing nation, and the Islamic combatants. He congratulated them for the victory of the Islamic combatants in liberating the southern regions of our country and, referring to the lack of planning on the part of the authorities of the U.B.C. during the past regime, said: The authorities of that regime, because of their colonialist policies based on consumption and dependence, had no appropriate plan for this large city of 6 million people. For this reason, today we are faced with a shortage of repair shops and terminals and an insufficient production of needed equipment and parts.

Engineer Ziayi said, concerning the steps taken by this company: Soon, the U.B.C. building and production facilities will begin operations at the location of the former 'Abbasabad barracks. In addition, several other facilities for building and production and four new repair shops are being constructed. With the seven existing repair shops in the city and two central repair shops, they will be able to respond to the needs of the U.B.C.

In continuation, he said: Since the past, the network of the U.B.C. lines created was naturally in keeping with the old format so that 60-70 of the lines terminated in the center of the city, which has caused some inconvenience concerning the traffic in the central areas of the city. For this reason, eight terminals in various areas of the city, such as Imam Khomeyni Square, have been projected. Thusfar, the locations of four terminals have been determined. To eliminate a number of routes, from each terminal, only one strong, active line will go back and forth to the center of the city.

Concerning the other programs of this company, he said: "The bylaws and the regulations for the cooperative minibuses company of Tehran suburbs has also prepared so that the private minibuses can be under the auspices of the cooperative company and the supervision of the U.B.C. Each cooperative will take over the transportation of one of the routes to the suburbs. In regards to private buses which are chartered for the people, arrangements have been made to have these buses carry out their duties under the auspices of a cooperative company and under the supervision of this company."

Responding to the question of one of the correspondents concerning the shortage of buses on various lines, the business manager of the U.B.C. said: Presently, 2,200 active buses on 157 routes consisting of 1,617 km are engaged in moving 2 million of the 7 million passengers of Tehran throughout the city. Some of them are off duty for washing or repairs temporarily for a few hours and 900 buses are also out for short periods of time in the repair shops due to lack of spare parts, which is one of the most important reasons for the shortage of buses along the city routes. Another reason for the shortage of buses is the duty

that this company has accepted regarding the families of the martyrs and other revolutionary institutions. In other words, between 350-700 buses are taken off the routes every day to be put at their disposal. On the other hand, a large number of buses are put at the disposal of Friday prayer participants in Tehran and those who attend Komeyl and Nodbeh prayers. Also, a number of others are responsible for transporting the military and law enforcement brothers. On Friday morning, some of these buses go along 10 routes for Nodbeh prayers to carry the martyrs' families to Behesht Zahra cemetery. For Friday prayers in Tehran as well, they are engaged in 20 long routes and some short routes to carry the participants to the University of Tehran and back.

Here, I must add that until two weeks ago, 300 routes carried the participants of Komeyl prayers from various Tehran mosques to the University of Tehran. Presently, this number has reduced to 50. That is, from 50 locations in Tehran, 50 routes with a large number of buses transport the participants to the University of Tehran. In addition, a large number of minibuses have also been sent along with the technicians of this company behind the fronts. Although all of this has created a reduction in the number of buses on the routes, the committed Muslim city residents tolerate the difficulties because they are aware of the urgent need.

In the conclusion of this interview, Engineer Ziayi requested of the sisters who are passengers of the buses that they wear the Islamic cover. He also asked all the Tehran residents to pay utmost attention to keeping the buses of the U.B.C. clean since they belong to the Muslims' treasury and since this will result in longer life for the buses and a decrease in dependence. In addition, the dear passengers should treat the laboring, self-sacrificing drivers of this company well.

New Ahvaz-Khorramshahr Rail Link

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 May 82 p 3

[Interview with Seyyed Mohammad 'Alizadeh, deputy of the Ministry of Roads and Transport]

[Text] Following the visit of Seyyed Mohammad 'Alizadeh, deputy of the Ministry of Roads and Transport and director-general of the railroads of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to the Ahvaz-Khorramshahr railroads and the directors and representatives of the Islamic societies of railroads who had gone to the region [as published]

the plan for the reconstruction of the railroad in this region was announced [as published].

On the basis of this plan, considering the fact that after the victorious attacks of the Islamic combatants, the Iraqi functionaries became aware of their absolute defeat and began to totally destroy all the lines, traverses, bridges, mounds, communications lines, and buildings of the train stations of this route, the reconstruction operations of this route, which is very effective in transporting construction materials and relocating war refugees, must be done in the shortest possible time. The reconstruction of this route will be done in the manner of a crusade with the help of the Muslim people in the various regions of the railroad. The reconstruction operation of this approximately 100-km line has been conferred on 10 regions near the railroad. Also, for this purpose, the reconstruction headquarters of the Ahvaz-Khorramshahr railroad has been formed under the supervision of the central office of the railroads. After mapping and the laying of the foundations, the regional railroads will begin the operations to build the lines. According to the projected plan and with the aid and mobilization of the employees and the Islamic societies of the railroad and the help of the martyr-nurturing nation, the Ahvaz-Khorramshahr railroad will be ready for operation in about 100 days.

9593

CSO: 4640/333

RUIN, DESOLATION OF KHORRAMSHAHR DESCRIBED

Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 6 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

Khorramshahr, Iran, June 5

A sea of brown rubble littered with the wrecks of tanks and armoured cars is all that remains of what were once the teeming dockside and business district of Khorramshahr.

In the suburbs of the port city, a network of trenches and bunkers runs between the ruins of shops and factories while entire housing estates have been bulldozed flat and sown with a forest of poles and spikes intended to impale Iranian paratroopers if they attempted to attack.

As it turned out, the elaborate defences built by Iraqi forces during an 18-month occupation were barely needed.

Khorramshahr, seized during 40 days of bitter street-to-street fighting at the start of the Iran-Iraq war in the autumn of 1980, was retaken in just 48 hours at the end of May.

Most of the Iraqi garrison of 30,000 fled across the Shatt-al-Arab river to home territory but 12,000 surrendered to attacks led by the teenage Iranian Revolutionary Guards.

Khorramshahr was a city of nearly 200,000 and the busiest cargo terminal on the Iranian side of the river. Its occupation was a triumph for Baghdad and paved the way for a drive to occupy the whole of Iran's oil-producing province of Khuzestan.

That objective was never reached and after months of

stalemate, Iranian counter-offensives pushed the Iraqis back to their own border along almost the entire war front in April and May.

The surrender of Khorramshahr on May 24 meant the loss of the last important Iraqi prize and robbed Baghdad of its only bargaining counter in efforts for a negotiated settlement.

Dozens of bullet holes and the twisted remains of lamp-posts and telegraph poles reveal how fierce the fighting in Khorramshahr was at the start of the war.

The few remaining buildings are pock-marked from fierce artillery barrages by the Iraqis and then months of shelling from Iranian forces which held on to the date palm groves to the south of the city, on the other side of the Karun river.

Iranian regular troops and Revolutionary Guards are now dug into trenches and tunnels in the centre of the city and subject to sporadic shelling from the Iraqis a few hundred yards away on their own shore of the Shatt-al-Arab.

In the suburbs, patrols in an odd assortment of uniforms daub slogans praising Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and paste his portrait on shattered vehicles and buildings.

Impervious to the clouds of dust and the blistering heat,

with temperatures well above 40 degrees Centigrade, they rush towards foreign visitors and break out in a litany of enthusiastic chants calling for death to the United States, Israel and the Soviet Union.

Many seem to believe that the Iraqis were not their real enemies at all. «We were not fighting Saddam (Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein), we were fighting America and if American troops had been in these trenches we would have beaten them too», declared one young soldier to cheers from his colleagues.

He said the U.S. had ordered Iraq to invade Iran in order to overthrow the revolutionary Islamic government.

A question mark hangs over the future of Khorramshahr which before the war was already starting to lose some of its importance to new ports springing up further down the waterway.

«I can't see the point of rebuilding the place. It would be much too difficult. It would certainly be cheaper to start from scratch somewhere else», one army officer remarked.

But government officials and Revolutionary Guards insist that the port, called the «City of Blood» by the Iranians during the war, must be resurrected as a memorial to the thousands of men who died defending it in 1980 and retaking it last month.

CSO: 4600/545

SHARON SAID CONTEMPLATING GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 3 Jun 82 p 9

[Article by Norman Reed]

[Text] Does General Ariel Sharon, Israeli minister of defense, aspire to seize power? Various high Israeli officers, among them some of the top rank, have abandoned their customary reserve and in private have increased their warnings against Sharon's intentions.

Specifically, these officers blame the minister of defense for hindering discussion within the General Staff and for systematically ignoring the opinions of responsible officers, generals and colonels, whenever their point of view does not coincide with his.

In contrast to Sharon, all the other Israeli generals including Chief of Staff General Rifa'el Eytan opposed, for example, the unleashing of repression against the Druzes in the annexed territory of the Golan Heights; and the consequences of this have been disastrous for the Hebrew state.

"Never before have we committed so many mistakes in so short a time in reference to a people initially well-disposed toward us and in a geographical area of great strategic importance where Israel is especially vulnerable," says a general in the reserve, the former head of the military intelligence services.

Another spokesman, a high-ranking Israeli officer who prefers to remain anonymous, declared: "Sharon is erasing all the army has learned and changed from the findings of the Agranat commission published subsequent to the Yom Kippur War of October 1973.

"Once more," this spokesman adds, "he is trying to impose a single strategic concept on the army by smothering and ridiculing independent thought and the spirit of criticism, both at the general staff level and at subordinate levels.

In the second place, the officers mentioned above also blame Sharon for having eliminated the most capable candidates last year when General Rifa'el Eytan was replaced as head of the Israeli Army.

Now Sharon has chosen General Moshe Levi for the chief of staff position, "a mediocre person, reliable but lacking in imagination, not a great personality, and one who has the reputation of being soft," according to Sharon's critics who say he is exerting efforts to obtain Prime Minister Menachem Begin's approval, arguing that the appointment of a chief of staff of Iraqi origin will attract even more votes among the Eastern Jews. The minister of defense, his adversaries add, is surrounding himself with fawning collaborators who are strengthening the cult of his personality.

Finally, some high-ranking officers who frequently see Ariel Sharon lay stress on the megalomania of the minister of defense who appears to be convinced that his destiny will be to "save the country," assuming that the deterioration in Menachem Begin's health will cause him to leave power. Or maybe even if the latter has not renounced power.

From their viewpoint Sharon intends to put his men in key positions in the army and no doubt impose his own authority over officers personally loyal to him. This to the detriment of other more capable and competent officers. This situation has been regarded as sufficiently irritating for some officers to inform Menachem Begin directly about it. All this explains to a large extent the efforts made recently by Menachem Begin to form a government of national union with the labor faction in which Yitzhak Rabin, who was prime minister and chief of staff during the Six Day War of 1967, would have had the defense portfolio.

In Israeli military circles they are saying "Menachem Begin, in spite of political differences, has always had a high regard for Yitzhak Rabin. On the other hand, he is beginning to distrust Ariel Sharon."

9972

CSO: 4548/8

SUCCESS OF SERVICE PROJECT EXAMINED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 34, Jan 82 p 44

[Article: "An Outstanding Kuwaiti Experiment in the Service Field; Mahmud al-Ghanim: 'The Greatest Risk Is That You Are Always Being Tested'"]

[Text] The Sanbuk Corporation for shipping, leasing and selling cars and for travel and tourism, which was established in 1980, took off, grew rapidly and became one of the most prominent service experiments in the Gulf and the Arab world. Here is a conversation with Mr Mahmud al-Ghanim, president and general manager of "Sanbuk", about this experiment and new projects.

"Sanbuk" is a well-known word to Kuwaitis, first of all because it is an old compound Kuwaiti word used for "diving and pearl fishing", and secondly because today this name has become the symbol of an outstanding experiment in the service field in Kuwait.

"Sanbuk's" activities now cover diverse fields starting with automobiles--leasing, arranging transportation, shipping and transit. "Sanbuk" was established at the initiative of Mahmud Muhammad al-Ghanim, of the prominent al-Ghanim family which is known in Kuwait, not only for its background in trade, but also for its consistently outstanding, innovative business ideas. It is said that the al-Ghanim family comes up with ideas and the market soon follows. In addition to managing "Sanbuk", Mahmud al-Ghanim owns about two-thirds of the shares of the Arab Food Services Corporation, and the remaining one-third is owned by his brothers Qutaybah and Bassam. He also owns, in partnership with Qutaybah, the home furniture showroom in al-Salimiyah. Mahmud al-Ghanim is considered one of the young generation of managers who combine equal amounts of theoretical knowledge and practical experience. He was born in 1945, and is a graduate of the Brumana School in Lebanon and the University of California, where he received his degree in international economics.

Fourteen Percent of the Kuwaiti Market

In an interview about his special experiment in the service field in Kuwait, al-Ghanim said that "Sanbuk" started leasing cars in October 1980 with no more than 20 cars, but the idea was so successful that this number has

multiplied many times over, reaching 1000 cars today. Company plans for 1982 are to increase this number, raising "Sanbuk's" share in the automobile market in Kuwait to about 14 percent. He added, "The 'Sanbuk' experiment in leasing cars rests on simple principles, the most important being:

"1. From the aspect of liquidity, it is better to lease a car instead of buying it because you do not have to save for a down payment.

"2. The comparative advantages of leasing are great and safe for oil companies and contracting banks.

"3. "Sanbuk" operates on the principle of a small profit in a large market..

"4. For regular monthly maintenance of its cars, the corporation has built garages with a total area of 12,000 square meters and 25 mechanics for every 1,000 cars."

Tourist and Shipping Services

Mahmud al-Ghanim spoke about "Sanbuk's" activity in the travel field and pointed out that the corporation has 140 offices in Kuwait and is also unique in having an office in New York to serve travelers to America, especially with the increase in travel to the United States.

Al-Ghanim also spoke about the company's transfer and shipping business, pointing out that "Sanbuk" is now the largest transit company carrying passengers between Kuwait and Iraq. For this purpose, it runs a fleet of 25 modern, air-conditioned buses with a capacity of 20 to 60 passengers. It also ships goods to and from the Middle East in large, equipped truck trailers and runs the largest air freight office in Kuwait.

He added, "We are now planning to develop new freight services such as express delivery of documents, along the lines of the American company DHL Brinks. Later we will expand to transporting assets, and we hope in 1 year to equip a fleet of cars to make bank runs.

As for sea freight, "Sunbuk" is considered the most experienced freight company, exporting and importing in regular ships, container ships or by RORO, at very competitive prices which include all clearing costs, through 148 offices throughout the world.

Services Management Is the Most Difficult

How can one corporation bring together and manage all these activities without causing problems? Mahmud al-Ghanim answers, "It isn't easy. It is easy to say that you are in the service sector in Kuwait, but it is the hardest sector to manage, especially compared with other professions. Trade depends merely on brokerage, while service requires a modern organization, well-qualified workers and effective management. The riskiest thing about service is that your abilities and reliability are continually put to the test. Any mistake in carrying out the service reflects immediately on your image, especially since the service customer is demanding and expects you to be able to solve anything, regardless of circumstances or unforeseen events." Nonetheless, al-Ghanim says that thanks to effective management and a dynamic organization, "Sanbuk" has been able in a short time to gain an excellent reputation as one of the most important service experiments, not just in the the Gulf, but in the Arab world.

INDUSTRIAL BANK CHAIRMAN CITES 1982 PROJECTS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 34, Jan 82

[Article: "Kuwaiti Industrial Bank's Projects for 1982; Al-Nuri: 'We Cannot Remain Merely a Market'; Gulf Integration Reinforces the Benefits of Industry"]

[Text] Chairman of the Kuwaiti Industrial Bank Mr Anwar al-Nuri, in reviewing the bank's projects for 1982, told AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL, "The bank now has a list of 'new industrial projects' to study, not just for Kuwait but for other Gulf countries also."

Al-Nuri said that the plant for industrial use of paper waste (a joint project of the bank, the Development Corporation and the Kuwaiti Trade and Paper Manufacturing Corporation) will start production in 1982 with a capacity of 20,000 tons of various types [of paper products].

Al-Nuri pointed out that the bank is now studying a project to set up a company to manufacture glass containers and another to bottle water. He also explained that the bank plans to study a number of industrial projects outside Kuwait after having financed similar projects in Oman, Ra's al-Khaymah and al-Shariqah because the bank views its role as that of the primary instrument for Gulf development and furthering industrial projects which have been studied and proven to be advantageous.

About the outlook for industrialization in the Gulf countries and the problem of separation, al-Nuri said, "Whatever has been said and however small the country, industrialization remains a fundamental option, not just from an economic point of view, but also from a social point of view. It is impossible for any country to be merely a market, consuming imports from abroad and paying the costs by selling one depletable product--oil. Industry must attain at least a 10 percent share of the national product of any country.

Regarding the problems facing some industries in the Gulf, the Industrial Bank Chairman said, "The inexperience of the Gulf countries in industry makes it difficult to prevent mistakes, more so in public sector industries than in private sector projects, where the businessman is intent on not taking

risks but on assuring the greatest profit before beginning any project. These considerations have not played their required role in some public projects. Nonetheless, the experience has sped up the process of establishing and directing options and policies..."

Al-Nuri also said that industry requires effort and patience, but most of all a large amount of capital, while we find that the private investor prefers to remain "liquid" and to try to enter other fields with more rapid return and no effort. [He concluded that] this fact makes it important to create a system of incentives to help direct a portion of savings to productive projects.

9882

CSO: 4404/239

OFFICIALS OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT COMPANY DISCUSS COMPANY'S OBJECTIVES

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 38, May 82 pp 50-51

[Interview with 'Isa al-Hajjaji and Yusuf 'Abd-al-Mawla, officials of the Libyan Arab Company for Foreign Investments; date and place not specified: "The Company Has Invested \$1.3 Billion, Of Which \$400 Million Has Been In Arab Countries"]

[Text] Despite the clouds that have somewhat marred relations between Libya and the Gulf countries, the jamahiriya wanted to attend the first Conference of Arab Businessmen and Investors in al-Ta'if. It therefore sent two officials of the Libyan Arab Company for Foreign Investments as delegates. They are Mr 'Isa al-Hajjaji, director of foreign holdings, and Mr Yusuf 'Abd-al-Mawla, director of investment planning. Both men belong to the younger generation of bankers and investors which has developed quickly and has produced many capable individuals considered noteworthy in Arab circles and abroad.

AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL spoke with Mr al-Hajjaji and Mr 'Abd-al-Mawla. The discussion covered the status and type of activities engaged in by the Libyan Arab Company for Foreign Investments, which was founded early last year. The discussion also covered the directions Libyan investments are taking within the framework of the jamahiriya's long-range plans and in light of current international and Arab circumstances.

This is the interview.

[Question] What are the tasks and special functions of the Libyan Company for Foreign Investments in the area of Libyan investments abroad?

[Answer] The company was founded in early February 1981 to create a central organization for investing Libyan funds abroad after officials responsible for economic matters found that the situation in which investments were scattered among the various government departments was making it difficult to monitor and keep track of them and to devise a coherent investment policy. Before the company was founded foreign investments were the responsibility of the particular government department concerned. If it was an industrial investment responsibility devolved to the Department of Industry.

Agricultural investments were handled by the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank. After the company was formed all the jamahiriyyah's foreign investments were turned over to it, with, however, certain exceptions determined by law. The exceptions specifically included investments in international and joint funds and banks.

To facilitate its task the company was granted broad powers by law. Among these powers was the right to initiate or help to initiate projects, to participate in them, to lend and borrow money, to sign contracts and to act completely autonomously. The company's capital, set at \$1.7 billion (and which is fully paid up), has provided the company with a vast ability to take on even large investments and projects.

[Question] What is the current status of the company's investments?

[Answer] The company's foreign investments are valued at about \$1.3 billion, of which about \$400 million is invested in the Arab World, particularly in joint Arab projects. In fact, the jamahiriyyah is involved in all of these projects by virtue of its fundamental position of supporting whatever serves to promote economic integration and cohesiveness among the countries of the Arab Nation. I must point out that the investments I have just mentioned are those of the Libyan Arab Company for Foreign Investments alone. They do not include investments that are still, by law, in the hands of the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, such as investments in joint Arab banks, in the Arab Banking Organization (with the UAE and Kuwait), or investments handled by the Libya Insurance Company through which Libya participates in the Arab Insurance Syndicate, with declared capital of \$3 billion divided evenly among the three participating countries. Therefore, although the company's investments are significant, they only reflect one aspect of Libyan investment in the Arab World which is carried out through various channels and by various means. There are really no specific figures for this aspect.

[Question] In the area of Arab investments has your participation been limited to joint projects or have you entered into bilateral agreements?

[Answer] We have participated in every joint Arab project, but we have also established companies with some sister countries, especially those that lack capital for their development. Among the companies that have been formed on a bilateral basis are the following: the Libyan-Syrian Agricultural and Industrial Investment Company, with fully paid-up capital of \$200 million; the Libyan-Mauritanian Agricultural Company, with capital of \$8.5 million; the Arab-Somali Agricultural Development Company, \$8 million; the Libyan-Sudanese Agricultural Company, \$14 million; the Yemeni Arab-Libyan Fishing Company, \$200 million; the Libyan-Algerian Maritime Transport Company, \$50 million; the Libyan-Tunisian Maritime Transport Company, approximately \$4.5 million. As you can see, the major portion of the bilateral projects is geared toward agriculture and the development of fishing resources as vitally important areas for Arab food security. They are also areas in which these countries possess great advantages and extraordinary unexploited potential. Because investments in these areas are long term and there are relatively

high risks involved, individuals and even some investment companies shun them in their pursuit of higher and faster profits. This places a special responsibility on the public Arab investment companies in that they must fill this gap and help to support and finance strategically important projects such as these. They also make good profits if the projects are utilized and managed well.

[Question] Do you have specific priorities in foreign investment?

[Answer] In general, there are three areas of interest to the company. They are, in order of importance: joint Arab ventures and projects; investment in Islamic countries; and investment in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Investment in the industrial countries and various portfolios is a last resort. At the same time, however, this ensures a financial presence that can serve as a basis for dialogue and friendship in political spheres, creates a kind of diversification and a means for the transfer of technology, and provides a means of investing funds for which profitable investment opportunities are not available in other areas.

[Question] Is northwest Africa an area of primary interest to the jamahiriya?

[Answer] Naturally, When we speak of the Arab Nation, considering the fact that it has priority in investment, we also think that the factors of geographic proximity, cultural similarity and a common history with the peoples of Arab northwest Africa certainly make us quite eager to strengthen common bonds. The numerous recent visits of brother Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi to Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania demonstrated the importance the jamahiriya attaches to the integration of Arab northwest Africa and its movement toward becoming a unified economic and political bloc. There is now a clear trend toward cementing economic relations with Tunisia. Several projects are now under study. At first, progress was somewhat slow. But the committees that were formed to do the work have been able to speed things up. Among the important principles agreed upon with our brothers in Tunisia is the principle of holding a semiannual meeting at the highest level in both countries--the People's General Committee in Libya and the Tunisian cabinet.

[Question] And with Algeria and Mauritania?

[Answer] There will soon be a similar agreement with Algeria. With Mauritania there is a joint ministerial committee headed by one cabinet member from the jamahiriya and one from Mauritania. The goal of this committee will be to monitor the implementation of the agreements and settle difficulties that might hinder the progress of the joint projects. There is great potential for investment in Mauritania, in fishing, livestock and mining.

[Question] With regard to investments in other countries, do you manage the investments directly or do you work together with the international investment organizations?

[Answer] We oversee certain direct investments through our technical personnel. But we also work closely with the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank which serves as the company's bank, and has long experience in various areas of international investment. We also invest a portion of the company's funds through certain experienced firms. In general we try to be flexible in foreign investment. At the same time we are working strenuously and speedily to round out our personnel so they can gradually take over a greater share of the duties of direct management.

[Question] What effects on foreign investment are anticipated from the depressed market for OPEC crude oil, which is expected to continue?

[Answer] As far as the Libyan Company for Foreign Investment is concerned the present and future situation in the oil market will have no effect on its activities because our company's finances and administration are independent of the country's finances. Our paid-up capital enables us to operate immune to these factors. With regard to the general repercussions of the oil situation we do not have enough data to assess them. But it can be pointed out that western propaganda is now being used to wage a bitter psychological war against the OPEC nations in an attempt to "subdue" them, from the scarecrow of surpluses and selling, to the imminent dispensibility of oil. The goal is also to weaken the ability of the Arab world to use oil as a means of political pressure, which prepares the way for the complete subjugation and fragmentation of the peoples of the region. In this sense the political effect on petroleum marketing may be more dangerous than any economic effect. That is why it is our urgent duty to confront quickly and decisively the causes that have brought about this situation. Furthermore, we, as Arabs, have a golden opportunity to limit our production to an amount commensurate with our economic requirements, without being compelled, under the pressure of the organized intimidation of the western nations, to over-produce, and exhaust our dwindling and valuable resources.

9123

CSO: 4504/333

BRIEFS

PETROLEUM WHARF--The new petroleum wharf in Tobruk built by an international company under exclusive contract to the Brega Oil Marketing Company opened two days ago. Present at the opening ceremony were representatives of the Brega Oil Marketing Company, several of its producers, and the director of the company that implemented the project. The wharf is 150 meters long and 11 meters deep. It was built to accommodate oil tankers with gross tonnage of 35,000 tons partially loaded and 20,000 tons fully loaded. The wharf has been equipped with a special sprinkler system that operates automatically, along with the regular fire extinguishing system, if a fire occurs. The wharf has also been equipped with a station for telephone and radio communication linking the control room, the tankers and the backup pumping station. There is also a safety and marine warning system to guide the tankers to the wharf. Sources at the Tobruk branch of the Brega Oil Marketing Company said that oil storage tanks are being constructed to store petroleum derivatives such as diesel fuel, kerosene and benzine. Two 10-inch diameter fuel lines 25 km long are being built from the pumping station to the storage tanks. The storage tanks have a total oil production capacity of 116,500 cubic meters, or triple the current capacity. [Text] [Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 20 Apr 82 p 2] 9123

CSO: 4505/333

STATUS OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL -A'MAL in Arabic No 34, Jan 82 pp 46-48

[Article: "Comprehensive Discussion with 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Zamil, Vice Chairman and Delegate Member of SABIC Saudi Industry at the Beginning of 1982: Achievements and Issues; 'We Concentrated on Capital Intensive Industries, and the Polarization of Saudi Youth is No Longer a Problem'"]

[Text] AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL met with Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Zamil, Vice Chairman and Delegate Member of the Saudi Arabia Basic Industries Corporation, for a discussion in which he assessed, from SABIC's experience in particular, the reality and the issues of industrialization in the Saudi Kingdom, Saudi youth's position toward working in this sector and the goals of the formula for partnerships with international corporations, especially in heavy industries related to oil production...

Al-Zamil was, until his appointment to SABIC, a deputy general manager in the Government Industrial Research Center, which specializes in advisory services for local industries.

[Question] The ambitious industrialization projects for the Kingdom--is there enough qualified Saudi labor to work in these projects?

[Answer] Contrary to the prevalent belief, finding the labor force is not a difficult problem. From our experience of the past 5 years, two things have become clear to us:

1. The industries that can be established in the Kingdom in general are capital intensive industries and not those that require a large labor force. These industries are different in being very modern and guaranteed in an important percentage of their operations, requiring a specific type of middle and high level expertise and qualifications. "SABIC's" factories, for example, which have an investment capital of 35 billion riyals, require no more than 7,000 workers and technicians; that is, an average investment of about 5 million riyals for each worker, one of the highest percentages. The explanation of course is the large share going to manufacture petrochemicals and other petroleum derivatives, one of the industries requiring the most capital.

2. It also became clear to us through this experience that it is possible to attract technocrats to these industries if suitable circumstances and necessary incentives are made available and if the required efforts are made to strengthen the new Saudi generation's awareness of industry, especially in university circles. We have the perfect example of this in the engineer training program which began 4 years ago and included 300 Saudi university graduates. This program succeeded, with some of the engineers finishing their training with foreign companies and beginning work at the al-Jubayl and Yanbu' complexes. In addition to the engineering program, we drew up a special program to create middle level and expert technical cadres to handle maintenance, supervision and organization. This program included middle and secondary school graduates, and the reception was greater than we had expected. We therefore increased the number in the program from 200 to 450 graduates who will be trained for 1 year, concentrating on science, mathematics English language and practical experience in their profession, after which they will be sent to European factories for on-the-job training. The first group has finished their training, returned and started working. Training of the second group, which numbered around 600 a short while ago, has begun. We hope that if training proceeds along these lines, most of the workers and technicians will be Saudis when the factories begin operation in 1985. This will be a great achievement if realized, since the beginning is always difficult, and the Saudi generation entering now is the first to have serious contact with industry. It is not only important of course that all the workers and technicians be Saudis, but also that the work get done and that projects get underway. Transition periods, during which we need non-Saudi expertise, may be necessary before we reach a stage of complete reliance on our national expertise.

New Image for Industry

[Question] Have you observed acceptance or enthusiasm on the part of Saudi youth toward working in industry?

[Answer] There is acceptance, but is hard to say that there is "enthusiasm" toward industry because the Saudi economy offers alternative opportunities, and there are sectors which offer workers specific enticements such as money and ease--trade and public employment, for example...However, some are still wary about entering industry for reasons that are psychological rather than material, and some Saudi youth see industry as synonymous with workshops shops, noise and hard work. All this is an inherited image of an obsolete type of industrialization and of course has no relation to modern industry which has, through astounding technological developments and the electronic revolution, become mental work more than manual labor, and management and supervision more than direct production. Saudi youth have begun to internalize this new image, which has become for some an incentive to enter industry, considering it no less attractive than other jobs.

[Question] How far along are you in establishing the corporation's factories?

[Answer] The Jiddah factory, which could be considered an expansion and modernization of an existing factory, is the only one which is completed

and has entered the production phase. Five of the main factories are still under construction and the rest have not yet entered the completion stage.

Need for a Basic Supply of Skills

[Question] This means that you have not yet come to the difficult stage--beginning production, operation and dealing with the inevitable problems. This requires cadres and expertise.

[Answer] There are problems which may arise with the beginning of production, and if the factory is not prepared to solve these problems and does not pay attention to training and acquiring expertise before these problems occur, then of course the situation will be difficult. Before we sign an agreement on a project, we begin training, which will continue even after production begins. However, the important thing is to have a basic supply of skills before starting operations. This is the nucleus which will guarantee that operations progress, that its requirements are fulfilled and that its problems are solved. After creating this nucleus and starting out, we must continue to mobilize and prepare new human resources, for there is always a turnover in the labor force.

Other difficulties may arise, not just in production, but also in marketing and maintenance. Of course we participate with foreign companies, considering this the most advantageous and most successful method in complicated industries such as those we have established. This method will help us to deal with a large number of problems, especially marketing, at least in the early years of production.

The Marketing Problem

[Question] Aren't the problems which you are expected to face, as have others, concentrated in production itself and maintenance, rather than in marketing?

[Answer] Production does not cause the difficulties that you imagine, especially if the factories are almost complete and if the foreign partner takes part with all his experience in putting it into operation. What has happened to others was either because the private sector did not join in the project and it was not treated as a beneficial economic project or because the initial preparations which would have allowed the factory to operate smoothly were not completed.

The main difficulty is in marketing because our projects are basically large, export projects which consume a lot of energy. This means that they will face strong competition from existing American, European and Japanese industries. One of the things that got us involved in these projects with the formula for participation with a foreign concern that we have was precisely the subject of marketing, which is still controlled by international corporations like Exxon, Mobil and Dow... We have found that the best way in the beginning is to use the marketing channels which belong to

these corporations and offer our products in the markets within these corporations. This is done through committing the international corporation to buy a percentage of production, enough to insure that the factory is beneficial and to make provisions for marketing problems. This percentage is not less than 75 percent, and the foreign partner must assume responsibility for selling it in his markets in all cases. This point took a long time in the 2 years of negotiations before it was resolved. Our goal was to make the foreign partner part of the benefits and risks, not just by contribution capital but also by our obtaining a share of the markets which they control.

As for marketing inside the kingdom and the neighboring countries, this will be SABIC responsibility. We have actually begun importing some of the products which we will manufacture, such as plastic materials, to sell to factories operating inside the Kingdom. This will give us the opportunity to enter the market before production begins, find out the customer's needs and form a distribution network. It also gives us the opportunity to back the existing plastic factories, which number almost 70, by importing the intermediate material for these factories. This will prevent SABIC from tying up money in building up its own supply, since any factory can come to us and purchase its requirements. Of course, this service benefits SABIC also because it will accustom Saudi factories to depend on it as a source of intermediate materials, facilitating the marketing of these materials locally when production begins.

Industrialization Trends in Saudi Arabia

[Question] How do you view the main industrialization trends in the Kingdom?

[Answer] I believe that we have crystallized our choices in the subject of industrialization in accordance with our special preferences and circumstances. In general, we are concentrating on certain main sectors in industrialization:

1. Primary and intermediate industrial products
2. Sufficient construction materials
3. Plastics
4. Food industries
5. Industries in which transportation is one of the main expenditures.

One positive phenomenon is the appearance of an integration and link among existing industries, in that some factories have begun buying some of their requirements from other factories on the local market, which were established especially to fulfill these needs instead of their being imported from abroad. A paint or oil plant, for example, starts buying metal sheeting from a local factory, and the canning and packaging industries have in general begun to provide the requirements of several local industries.

Protection is 20 Percent at the Most

[Question] There is an impression that the cost of Saudi commodities is high compared with imported goods, sometimes 50 percent higher.

[Answer] It is a simple fact that industry, any industry, will either compete and be able to survive or will get out of the market. It is true that there is protection [for Saudi products], but only after long, complicated dealings, and never more than 20 percent. In my opinion, if it were left up to businessmen, they would choose as a model the industry that is able to survive and make a profit because they value their money and investment benefits. If they fail and face problems, they will quickly get out of the market, while it is different in industries with government connections. One of the important indicators of the Saudi industrial reality is the high percentage of industrial loans paid off, fluctuating between 92 and 95 percent. This is an indicator of these factories' progress and their accepted status.

[Question] Is the percentage of the protection applied sufficient, and is there a set percentage that is applied regardless of the industry benefited?

[Answer] The 20 percent represents the highest figure that we consider sufficient to insure protection for developing industries, except in exceptional cases, which usually arise these days because of economic crises and organizations' and companies' need to export to compensate for recessions in local markets. This is preferable to the extremism of some eastern and Asian countries which are trying to get hard currencies by any means and by selling at any price. However, in general 20 percent is enough. We should not forget that the reasons for losses may not always be due to unlawful competition, but may be because of the bad management policy of failing to take responsibility.

[Question] In your opinion, what characterized Saudi industry in 1981?

[Answer] I observed a great concentration on technique and modern equipment in industrial investment, which was reflected in the type of products themselves, that have become equal in quality to foreign or imported products. This is what prompted the industrial fund to refuse to finance the importation of used or out-of-date equipment. Another thing I have observed is that there are now high quality and perceptive standards in local commodities, perhaps because of local competition or the desire to keep up and compete with imported goods.

9882

CSO: 4404/239

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN DISCUSSES VARIOUS PROBLEMS, POLICIES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 115, 24-30 Apr 82

[Interview with 'Izz-al-Din al-Sayyid, chairman of the Sudanese People's Assembly by Muhammad Ahmad Hashim: "The Sudan's Security Is Integrated With That of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf"]

/Text/ In the final period of last year and the beginning of this one, the Sudan witnessed numerous political changes involving the political organization and the executive apparatus, ending with the election of the fifth People's Assembly, which started its session at the end of last February. AL-MAJALLAH met with Mr 'Izz-al-Din al-Sayyid after he was elected chairman of the assembly to seek out his opinion on numerous local and regional issues. The man is considered a long-standing politician who had direct experience with political life before President Ja'far Numayri assumed power in the country. He was a member of the Charter Society and minister of economy in 1961, minister of commerce in 1967, then member of the Political Bureau of the Sudanese Socialist Union, secretary of the Workers' Committee in the period 1972-79, and member of the central committee in 1974. He was chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the second and third People's Assembly and was chairman of the board of the fourth People's Assembly. He took part in all the Arab Parliamentary Federation's conferences as a representative of the Sudan, and he is now occupying the position of representative of the Arab group to the executive committee of the International Parliamentary Federation. The man, by virtue of his position, is expected to, and has proceeded to, play a distinguished role on the Sudanese political stage.

This interview took place with AL-MAJALLAH:

/Question/ What talks lie before the fifth Sudanese People's Assembly in this session?

/Answer/ This assembly's tasks changed following the establishment of the regional People's Assemblies and the application of the Regional Government Law in the Sudan. It happened that these assemblies took charge of issues with a local and regional character, and this assembly was left with issues of a nationwide character, including foreign policy, defense, issues of sovereignty and the economy, national planning and currency. Another of its tasks is to supervise and review the regional government experiment, if necessary, from time to time, and to work

to support and strengthen it, both through legislation and execution, with the goal of having the authorities hand all the power to the masses in the regions by reducing administrative supervision. This is because the Sudan, because of its large area and the facilities and communications available, lacks the ability to bring the desired level of services to the various regions. We do not have the central resources for dealing with the problems of various areas. We know that there are different dialects, numerous tribes and diverse cultures in the Sudan. This all makes us unable to get to all the regions and study their problems and find solutions to them. Therefore we have assigned these responsibilities to the regions themselves.

/Question/ Aren't specific issues presented to the assembly?

/Answer/ We started this session in the history of the assembly by presenting the drafts of laws and bills issued in the assembly's absence, a matter which is called for by the provisions of the constitution. After this we anticipate the approval of the general budget of the government, and this is an important issue, especially after the assembly endorsed the session's speech, which was given by the president, in which he described the government's policies. In the light of the policy the assembly endorsed, the government will present the budget. There might be constitutional amendments and we do not know when those will take place, although we do know that the government intends to offer some constitutional amendments to keep up with the regional government phase. As you know, the Sudan's permanent constitution was set forth in 1974 and therefore, following these years of experience and practice, we must cast a glance once again at the constitution, which, in my estimation, is to be considered one of the most detailed constitutions. Some people are of the opinion that the details are beneficial, while others differ. In general, we are waiting for the preliminaries the government will present on the amendment and we as an assembly do not want amendments to the constitution unless we are totally convinced that that is in the people's interest.

What Is New in the Parliamentary Experience

/Question/ On your capacity as a person who has had close experience with the liberal parliamentary experiment in the Sudan, and is now taking part in a new experiment, is there any sort of difference between the two experiments? What new developments have been produced by the parliamentary experiment under the aegis of the May revolution?

/Answer/ The parliament that preceded the May revolution was a parliament of parties. No single party managed to get a comfortable majority with which to form a cabinet at that time. As a result of that, successive coalition cabinets were established. It is widely known that cabinets of that sort become cabinets based on bargaining, and parliamentary activity consequently proceeded in that direction. The parliament now is a parliament of a single political organization and activity in it is therefore based on purposeful objective consultation far removed from maneuvering and bargaining. In the past a cabinet would fall whenever it was serious. One can also point out that in the previous period parliament consisted of geographical constituencies, and there were constituencies for university graduates, with the goal of enriching the experiment through the ideas and expertise of

intellectuals. In the context of the May revolution, 50 percent /of the seats/ are allotted to representation by professions, various areas of specialization and alliance groups in the assembly as well as the geographical constituencies. There is also representation for mass groups of young people, women, agricultural workers, businessmen and military forces. These specialists come to the assembly today and it now includes experts from various professions and areas of expertise and the discussion in it has become vigorous, rich and purposeful. In the past, shortly before the May revolution, when we applied the notion of constituencies for university graduates in order to make up for the shortage of experts, the result was that the five seats allotted to graduates in the first parliament went to lawyers. The people who came in from the 15 constituencies that were allocated to graduates in the following parliament were ideologues and therefore the objective for which the idea originally arose was not realized. Now, however, there is no opportunity for this sort of monopoly.

/Question/ From this premise, could one say that this assembly is an embodiment of national unity in the Sudan? What are its manifestations in the assembly?

/Answer/ Yes, there certainly is an embodiment of national unity, if by national unity we mean that all regions are represented in it. All the professions that are pursued in the country are represented and all educational levels in the Sudan are represented in it. I cannot say that everyone who in the past constituted various political parties is represented in it. However, there is of course a representation that excludes only a few. In this assembly you can find people who previously belonged to parties that were the backbone of the political movement before May 1969 revolution and you can find representatives of the south, with all its tendencies. Therefore I believe that this council is an embodiment of national unity.

/Question/ To what extent can one say that this assembly possesses elements of stability and that it will not have the same destiny as the ones that preceded it?

/Answer/ There were reasons behind the dissolution of the previous assembly. After the establishment of the regional assemblies, whose membership had come to almost 400, it was not logical for us to hold onto a national assembly whose membership came to 368, bringing the number of parliamentarians in the Sudan close to 800; this would be the highest percentage in the world. After we left a large portion of the activities of this assembly to the regional people's assemblies, there was no way to avoid reviewing the composition of the new assembly in terms of membership, tasks and even bylaws. This was the reason for the dissolution of the former assembly. However, I believe that the establishment of regional assemblies in the context of local government, until we bring it to the stage where regional rulers are elected, is all to be considered an element of stability in this assembly until a full session has been completed.

Relations with Egypt

/Question/ Some people consider that there are justifications for amending the constitution; they contend that this constitution was set out 8 years ago and is

no longer expressive of the political climate in the Sudan, especially following the national reconciliation. What is your comment?

/Answer/ Generally, constitutions, when they are set out, are done to establish stability, and people resort to amending them only in case of utmost need. I cannot foresee what might happen. The constitution is a document written by man, not a revealed book. A second point is that since our constitution was approved in 1974, it has been amended only once. That confirms that it was set out on a sound basis, as I mentioned earlier. We find that it has many details which some people consider there is no need for, while others consider they should be kept. In spite of all that, I do not rule out the fact that we might review some sections of our constitution.

/Question/ Dr Sufi Abu Talib, chairman of the Egyptian People's Assembly, visited Egypt recently and held a discussion with you, whose focus lay on attention to the issue of integration between Egypt and the Sudan. What is it hoped will be achieved in this regard during this session.

/Answer/ First let me make a correction. The Egyptian delegation, under the chairmanship of Dr Sufi Abu Talib, came to participate in the inaugural ceremonies of this assembly, which underlines the special relations between the two countries. While they were with us, we closely studied a number of issues, principally political and economic integration, which lies in the framework of the program of action which the president of the Sudan, Ja'far Numayri, and the late president of Egypt, Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat, signed in Alexandria in 1974. We considered that we should review the goals of the integration projects in order to eliminate the obstacles that stand in the way of the consummation of economic integration. Economy is the backbone of life and the most important aspect of the focal points of integration. Unless the people in Egypt and the Sudan feel they are getting economic benefits from such integration, it will lack substance.

Numayri and Solidarity

/Question/ How do you view your position on Egypt, in the light of the new situation that has arisen in Egypt, especially as regards signs of its relations with the Arab countries?

/Answer/ Before the dispute between Egypt and the Arab countries occurred, we kept insisting on the theme of solidarity at every meeting that took place among Arabs. It is clear that rifts in the Arab world and the fragmentation that exists in it are what have enticed Israel to incorporate Jerusalem and Golan, think about incorporating southern Lebanon and disdain the rights of the Palestinian people. We should point out that President Ja'far Numayri led a campaign for Arab solidarity and still intends to carry out concentrated activity in this regard, although the whole prevailing Arab climate now will not help a great deal. There is no Arab country that is not in conflict with some other Arab country. The Arab governments are more afraid of one another than of Israel. Therefore, most of the attention to the Palestinian cause has been lost, and we must put this cause back in its original place at the heart of the struggle, which will take place only through Arab solidarity.

/Question/ Is it expected that an initiative will take place in this regard on your part?

/Answer/ Our initiatives are continuing. We, as an assembly, have continued to make appeals at every meeting. We made an appeal at the Arab Parliamentary Conference in Algiers and the Conference of the Federation of Arab Parliaments in Kuwait. We have called for the need to purify the atmosphere in the Arab world and we have called for the need to form a committee of heads of Arab parliaments to make a tour of Arab countries to help Arab leaders and rulers to meet together and reach agreement on unified Arab action. That was our opinion and we will continue to work in this field until Arab solidarity is achieved.

Relations with Saudi Arabia

/Question/ We would like you to talk to us about the Sudan's relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf countries, Iraq and Ethiopia.

/Answer/ First, our relations with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia have a special character. I believe we and Saudi Arabia complement one another. Our security is part of Saudi Arabia's security, and Saudi Arabia's security is part of the security of the Sudan. Saudi Arabia offers us aid from time to time and we thank it for that and appreciate it. Saudi Arabia is the country which protects the two sanctuaries, and we are a Moslem country and must cooperate with it in everything that preserves the Islamic religion and promotes the spread of it. That is one point. On the other hand, on the issue of Gulf security, I recall that I mentioned at the latest meeting of the Federation of Arab Parliaments that we are in favor of devoting attention to it but that Gulf security complements the security of the Red Sea, and if no danger comes to the Gulf from the east it might come to it from the west. It is clear from what is happening now in the area of the Horn of Africa, in the form of increasing great-power presence, that there is a danger to us and a danger to the Gulf, reaffirming that our security and that of the Gulf are complementary. To summarize, our relations with the kingdom and the Gulf countries are excellent and improving, and they are supported by common interests.

/Question/ What about relations with Iraq?

/Answer/ Our relations with the government of Iraq in my estimation are good; although some conflicts might arise from time to time, they are eliminated through direct meetings. We started with contacts between the Sudanese People's Assembly and the Iraqi parliament, on a visit to the Sudan. Our contacts with our parliamentary brethren in Iraq are excellent and they entail a great deal of coordination. We hope that the causes of the conflict will be eliminated, especially since Iraq is now engaged in a war by proxy for the Arab nation, and while we have hoped that the two Moslem countries of Iraq and Iran would stop the war as a means for solving problems, if the war continues our natural stand will be with Iraq, because it is defending Arab rights.

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UNIVERSITY UNREST ANALYZED

Tunis LE TEMPS in French 25 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Mustapha Alaya, professor and former student]

[Text] The appeal that you have made to professors, to parents, and, in short, to all those hoping to help solve the problem gnawing at the Tunisian university system through their opinions, seems more imperative than ever to me, especially when we know how difficult this problem has become. And better late than never.

Mentioning the Tunisian university crisis and the various political factions dominating it inevitably means mentioning the "crises" which the students themselves are experiencing. No one could deny that frustration leads to an explosion, to revolt; if not to destruction, indeed self-destruction. The incidents that the Faculty of Arts has experienced are proof of this. I personally believe that the problems must be objectively explained apart from "political" demagoguery and ideological "one-upmanship." All those who wanted to put an end to this crisis, at least partially, have only skimmed the problem. It must be admitted that the students are living under difficult, even deplorable, conditions. As a former student, I have suffered the same pain and anguish. The scholarship, that vital source, readily dried up.

Victims of our social situation (coming from the South), we always found ourselves short of money, especially since a large share of the stipend was sent to the parents. What are we to expect of someone who lives in a town where the last word always comes down to money?

The result of this is revolt against society, the sudden awareness of a social injustice which is aggravated in a bookish society. The university then becomes the refuge, the ideal world, where indignation explodes or revolt is externalized. The students from the interior are then the most susceptible to speeches and to mobilization; the ones who applaud the hardest and respond without hesitation to the appeals of the leaders of the various factions. Statistics show us that among the discontented who are being held, students from the South are always in the majority. These young people who find themselves plunged into a new world are quickly recruited by the "wolves" and "perpetual students" waiting for them at

the department entrances in the well-known campaign to wear them down. An opportunity which is not to be missed, they say.

This thought may displease many, but we must acknowledge that although it is bitter, this truth explains how many students are ideologically exploited by an experienced minority, especially knowledgeable in the art of speaking and of seduction.

I personally believe that the majority of the students are rational. This silent majority needs to react, for the future of the university will depend on their determination. In fact, in my opinion it is absurd to label all the students as political. The students who believe deeply in their ideological affiliation are few. Even those who are members of a particular faction do it not through conviction, but simply by imitation or sometimes by calculation (here the Islamic faction is to be excluded). In fact, to justify my point of view, I pose this simple question. How is it that after 2 months at the university, young people who know nothing about Marx except his name become fervent Marxists?

A student, it must be acknowledged, is not a "finished" person with mature clear-sightedness. Spellbinding speeches (and there are many of these at the university) and social analyses can easily provoke their indignation, and awaken in them the enthusiasm of youth and the desire to bring about change, in short, to have an impact. Unfortunately, entering the university is at a difficult period in the student's life, a period in which a person needs to break away, to affirm his identity, even if it means opting for violence.

At this point, many would understand a defense or a justification for violence, but they may be reassured, for I simply wanted to show that the student needs to place his trust in someone, to be heard, and especially to be granted some importance. Have we done all of this? Unfortunately, not.

The student has always been blamed, placed on the blacklist; something which has aggravated his discontent and pushed him time and again to make his voice heard through force, something which was justified in his eyes.

Aside from this psychological factor, the nebulous future aggravates anxiety and plunges the student into confusion. I think that orientation has only exacerbated the situation. In 1974-1975 (before this system was introduced), strikes were more frequent, and certainly justified, but violence was rare. Why? Simply because the students were aware of one fact--they had made a choice. They were therefore assuming the responsibility for their choices. Failure then was not accounted for by a poor orientation or the fault of the ministry as it is today, but by a lack of devotion to your studies. Today, according to the student, all the responsibility rests on others. He is only a victim, and the victim is always in a legitimately defensive position. And what weapon does he use? Violence.

I would not remain silent on the problem of student representation, taken by many to be the cause of the problems that the Tunisian university system is experiencing. I would like to comment here that this right, which is so often claimed by "all" students, in reality is not claimed by those in whom the students have placed their trust (the leaders of the factions). In fact, the various factions "do not want to see a free and democratic UGET [General Union of Tunisian Students]" established. It is a question of their very existence. It is a threat, a danger to be combatted. This UGET is going to put an end to their reigns and their influences. I think that an overwhelming majority of students wanted to reply in the affirmative to the government appeal for the UGET election, but due to the lack of neutral representatives to call the students to the polls, the government's sincere appeal was quickly stifled by the political factions which want to experience immortality.

What is to be done then?

The solution recommended by Riadh Zgal in his article entitled "To Help in the Diagnosis," (see LE TEMPS, 14 April 82), is to take things seriously. In fact, the students had, and still have, confidence in the UGTT [Tunisian General Federation of Labor]. Their mediation, may I dare to suggest, would be beneficial in more than one way, and would enable the silent majority, those who are labeled "indifferent," to find in the UGTT a "wise" and certainly "experienced" spokesman, as long as the government does not see this intervention as interference in its affairs and a strengthening of its image in the public opinion. Even if it entails making concessions (if they are concessions), by managing to solve the problem of representation, the government would stamp out an alibi which the various factions have used intelligently so far to assure the support of the students.

No longer finding the support, the students, and they would be many, would discover the dangerous intentions of the various political factions and would end up "burying" Marx and Lenin.

"Das Kapital," the "green book," will yield their places to math and history books.

Experience has shown and will show again that once out of the university and in contact with real life, Marx and all his comrades will be nothing more than a bad memory, even to those who were Marxist to the bone.

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CSO: 4519/171

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

WORLD BANK LOAN--The World Bank has granted Tunisia a \$22 million loan (10 million Tunisian dinars) to finance the development of agricultural production according to a communique issued yesterday by the international organization. This loan was made to finance a development project which seeks to improve irrigation projects in the Majardah Valley and the Nabhanah Valley. The project, whose total cost amounts to \$55.1 million, will be implemented by the Office for Developing the Majardah Valley and the Office for Developing the Nabhanah Valley. The World Bank had already participated, through a \$12.2 million loan granted in 1974, in the repair of irrigation works in both regions concerned. The second project would allow the Office for Developing the Majardah Valley to irrigate 2,400 additional hectares and to improve the distribution system on 5,500 hectares. In the region of Nabhanah, the pumping stations of 'Ayn Al-Kibrit, Bilad Sisab and 'Ayn Bu Murrah are to be upgraded and a new station is to be built in Oued Aich. The project also includes various measures designed to reduce water loss such as the construction of reservoirs and the extension of the main pipeline to improve water distribution. It also provides for the development of access roads to the projects, packaging centers for fruit and truck garden produce, cold storage facilities and milk collection centers. The World Bank's communique finally indicates that this project is repayable within 17 years, with a deferred amortization of four years and an annual interest rate of 11.6 percent. [Text] [Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 28 May 82 p 5]

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